An
Introduction to
THE EMENDATION
of
A Shī'ite Creed

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An Introduction to THE EMENDATION of *A Shī'ite Creed*

An Introduction to the Book
Taṣḥīḥu 'l-I'tiqād of
Abū 'Abdillāh, Muḥammad ibn
Muḥammad ibn Nu'mān,
Known as ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd.
(336/948 or 338/950 – 413/1022)
by:

Muḥammad Riḍā Ja'farī

Volume I

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World Organization for Islamic Services
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In the Name of Allãh
The All-Compassionate, The All-Merciful

Praise belongs to Allãh, the Lord of all Being;
the All-Compassionate, the All-Merciful;
the Master of the Day of Judgement.
Thee only we serve; and to Thee alone we pray
for succour.
Guide us in the straight path,
the path of those whom Thou hast blessed,
not of those against whom Thou art wrathful,
nor of those who are astray.

* * * * *

O' Allãh! Send your blessings to the head of
your messengers and the last of
your prophets,
Muḥammad and his pure and cleansed progeny.
Also send your blessings to all your
prophets and envoys.

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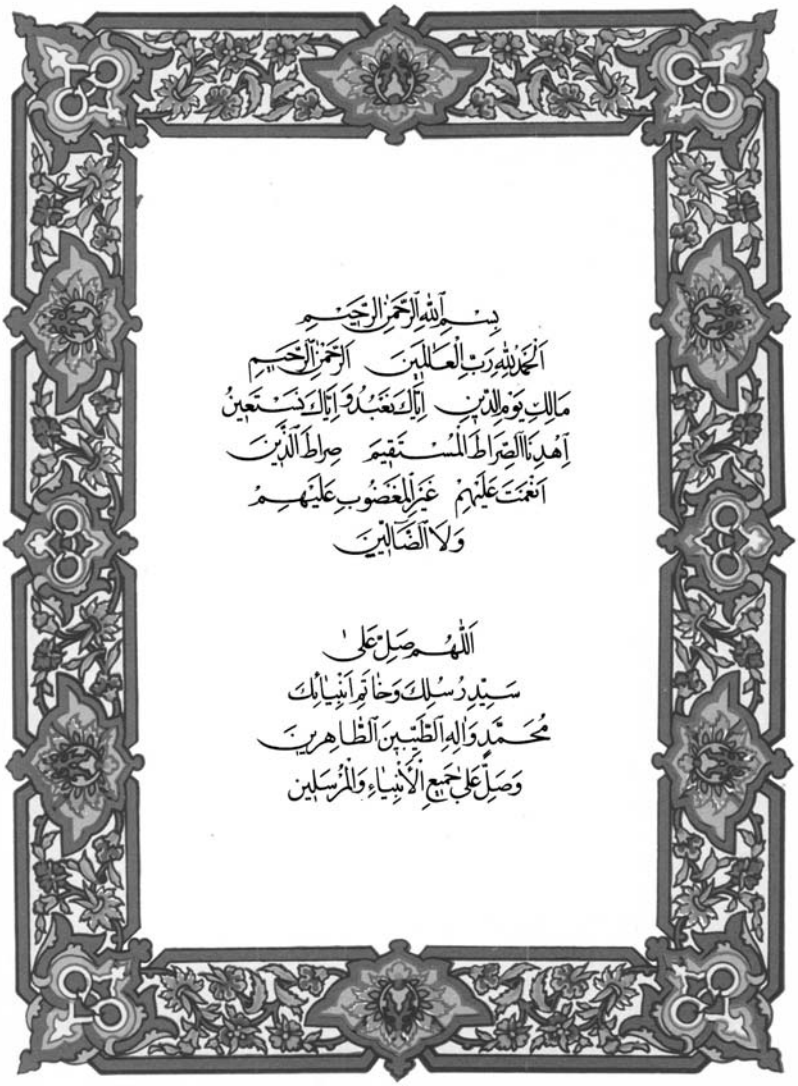

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TRANSLITERATION

Ar. Letters	Transliteration	Ar. Letters	Transliteration
ء }	’	ق	q
ا }	a	ك	k
ب	b	ل	l
ت	t	م	m
ث	th	ن	n
ج	j	و	w
ح	ḥ	ه	h
خ	kh	ي	y
د	d	ة	ah
ذ	dh		
ر	r		
ز	z	Short Vowel	
س	s	ـَ	a
ش	sh	ـِ (or ـٖ)	i
ص	ṣ	ـُ	u
ض	ḍ		
ط	ṭ		
ظ	ẓ	Long Vowels	
ع	‘	آ	ā
غ	gh	ي ـِ	ī
ف	f	و ـُ	ū

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مقدمة الناشر

و الحمد لله الّذي وفّقنا لنشر (تصحيح الإعتقاد) للشيخ المفيد بعد أن وفّقنا من قبل لنشر (اعتقادات الإماميّة) للشيخ الصدوق، رضي الله عنهما و عن جميع العاملين لنشر الاسلام وخدمة المسلمين.

وكانت الترجمة الإنجليزية لتصحيح الإعتقاد قد أُحيلت إلينا منذ زمن، وكان الاستاذ المترجم قد أعدّها أطروحة جامعيّة، و قسّمها الى ثلاثة اقسام، القسم الاوّل ترجمة للمفيد, و الثاني ترجمة نص الكتاب, و الثالث التعاليق و الهوامش التي علّقها المترجم على بحوث الكتاب. وكان هذا القسم الأخير لايتّفق كل ما جاء فيه و الهدف الّذي وضعناه لأنفسنا في أعمالنا، و لا مع المقاييس الّتي نختار بها ما ننشر، فاكتفينا بنشر القسمين الأولين فحسب.

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ولكنّ أحد المسئولين قد وضع مقدّمة للكتاب تلافي فيها ما كان يؤدّي اليه حذف القسم الثالث من خسارة فوضعناها كمدخل للكتاب.

و من الله نسأل و اليه نبتهل أن يجعل عملنا خالصاً لوجهه الكريم، وأن يسدّد خطانا، وأن يوفّقنا لما فيه رضىً له و لرسوله الكريم و آله الاكرمين, صلوات الله و سلامه عليهم أجمعين، إنّه نعم المولى و نعم النّصير.

المؤسسة العالميّة للخدمات الاسلاميّة

(لجنة التأليف و الترجمة و النشر)

١٤٢٦/٦/٢٠ طهران – ايران

٢٠٠٥/٧/٢٧

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PUBLISHER'S FOREWORD

Praise be to Allãh through Whom we have succeeded in publishing *Taṣḥīḥu 'l-i'tiqãd* ["The Emendation of A Shī'ite Creed"] by the Shaykh al-Mufīd, after having succeeded, through Him, in publishing *I'tiqãdãtu 'l-Imãmiyyah* ["A Shī'ite Creed"] by the Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq, may Allãh be pleased with both of them and with all those who work for the spread of Islam and in the service of Muslims.

The English translation of *Taṣḥīḥu 'l-i'tiqãd* has been with us for some time, the translator having prepared it as part of his university thesis which consisted of three parts: a biography of al-Mufīd, the translation of the text of the book, and a section of commentary and notes which the translator attached to the sections of the book. Since the contents of this final section were somewhat inconsistent and not in keeping with the aims we have set ourselves in our work, nor with the standards we have set for our publications, we have been content to print only the first two parts.

However, one of our colleagues has written a preface to the book, which redresses the errors, which were responsible for the shortcomings of the third section, and we have included this as an introduction to the text.

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We beseech and implore Allãh that He may, of His abundant generosity, make our effort free from errors, and enable us to attain His approval and that of His Prophet and his most noble Family, may the blessings and peace of Allãh be upon them all. Verily He is the perfect Master, the most excellent Protector.

WORLD ORGANIZATION FOR ISLAMIC SERVICES,
(Writing, Translation, and Publication Board),
Tehran, Iran.

20/6/1426
27/7/2005

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An Introduction to THE EMENDATION of *A Shī'ite Creed*

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1
A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF AL-MUFIĪD

Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad an-Nuʿmãn ash-Shaykh Abū ʿAbdillãh al-Mufīd, Ibnu 'l-Muʿallim, al-ʿUkbarī al-Baghdãdī (336/948–413/1022) was the teacher of the Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah, Abū Jaʿfar aṭ-Ṭūsī, who said of him:

> The leadership of the Imãmiyyah in his own time devolved upon him; he was foremost in the science and practice of dialectical theology (*kalãm*), a foremost jurist (*faqīh*), and an energetic thinker with an astute mind, always ready to answer . . .[1]

Three centuries after al-Mufīd, the ʿAllãmah al-Ḥillī (648/1250–726/1325), one of the most well-known and learned of the scholars of the Imãmiyyah, said this about him:

> [He was] one of the most outstanding *shaykh*s of the Shīʿah, their leader and their teacher, and all those who came after him relied on him. His pre-eminence in law (*fiqh*), theology, and the narration of Tradition (*riwãyah*) is too well known to require description. [He was] the most reliable and learned of his contemporaries, and the leadership of the Imãmiyyah in his time devolved upon

[1] *al-Fihrist*, p.186.

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him; he was an energetic thinker with an astute mind, always ready to answer . . .[2]

In the introduction to the *Kitãbu 't-Tawḥīd* from the *Uṣūlu 'l-Kãfī* I gave a selection from the biographies which Imãmī scholars of theology wrote of the Shaykh al-Mufīd, may Allãh be pleased with him, and pointed out his particular theological position, his teachers in theology, and his works in that subject.

Professor ‘Irfãn ‘Abdu 'l-Ḥamīd, the translator of *Taṣḥīḥu 'l-i‘tiqãd* has likewise given, as part of his introduction, a biography of al-Mufīd in which he reviews the political life and events of the Shaykh's times, describing the political and sectarian struggle and its complications. Both the adverse and painful effects it had on al-Mufīd, as well as the benefit he derived from it, are covered. This is the approach taken here in writing about al-Mufīd, lest accusations of sectarianism be levelled by the likes of those who delight in the power of the sword when it falls on the necks of others, but are troubled when the wails and cries of the condemned disturb their own repose, and are even more purturbed when these groans and tragedies are recorded and documented, while they themselves remain unaffected by them.

For this reason apologies should be given in advance to our noble Sunnī and Shī‘ī brethren in case they come across anything which may offend them in Professor ‘Irfãn's book; for none of us, praise be to Allãh, have had anything to do with these misfortunes. We ask nothing more of Allãh than that He bestow a beneficial life of brotherhood on all Muslims, so that those who come to write the history of our own times will not have to describe it in the same way as the history of that previous age.

There are, however, in what Professor ‘Irfãn mentions some defects which it will do no harm to point out. What we cite here will suffice to explain our criticisms.

---

[2] *Khulãṣatu 'l-aqwãl*, p.147.

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2
SOME COMMENTS ON PROFESSOR 'IRFĀN'S INTRODUCTION

a

Professor 'Irfān says[3] that the Shaykh al-Mufid 'was proud of his purely (*aṣ-ṣarīḥ*) Arab ancestry.'

He does not give any source for this statement, but what may have led him to this conclusion about al-Mufīd was the discovery he made about the latter's ancestry in an-Najāshī[4] who traces al-Mufīd's lineage back to Ya'rūb ibn Qaḥṭān. Now this was the kind of activity in which an-Najāshī revelled as a result of his meticulous concern for genealogies. He wrote a work on the science of genealogy, which he mentioned when he gave his own biography in his *Fihrist*.[5] His concern for line-age is also apparent in many of the biographies, which he included, and the ancestries of his subjects will be found traced back to the original tribes from which their clans arose.[6]

Apart from an-Najāshī, others, such as the Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭāifah aṭ-Ṭūsī in his *al-Fihrist* and *ar-Rijāl*, wrote biographies of these people, but they lack the chains of ancestry which an-Najāshī mentions.

Our Shaykh al-Mufīd – in common with other Muslim scholars and jurists, and even with the devout among the Muslims who are not scholars or jurists – was more excellent in his faith, knowledge, and understanding of the Islamic *sharī'ah*, and nobler in character than that he should console himself by comparison with the pre-Islamic period, or boast about what Allāh and His Prophet, may Allāh bless him and his Family and

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[3] *The Emendationof A Shī'ite Creed,* Intro., p.3.
[4] *al-Fihrist* (Bombay, 1317), p.283-4.
[5] *Ibid*., p.74.
[6] See *ibid*., pp.7, 16, 59, 77, 90, 93, 97, 125, 145, 158-9, 162, 190, 202, 281- 2, 297-8, and 305.

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grant them peace, had kept the believers away from: they had been warned not to boast of it, nor even to rely on it. The Messenger of Allãh said in the famous sermon, which he delivered in Mekkah when Allãh granted him victory over it, when He had fulfilled His promise, had strengthened His army, and had alone put the polytheists to flight:

> 'O people, verily Allãh has taken from you the haughtiness of pre-Islam (*al-jãhiliyyah*) and its boasting of ancestors and clans. Men are of two [kinds]: [those who are] pious, God-fearing, enobled before Allãh, and [those who are] sinful, wretched, insignificant before Allãh . . . Man springs from Ãdam, and Allãh created Adam from dust. Being Arab does not mean [having] parentage from a [single] father, it means [having] an eloquent language, and one who was unable to speak it was not counted as one of them.' Then he recited Allãh's words: '*O people! We created you from male and female, and made you into peoples and tribes that you might know one another. Truly, the most noble of you in Allãh's sight is the most God-fearing. Verily, Allãh is All-knowing, All-wise'* (al-Ḥujarãt, 49:13).[7]

I have not come across any source in which al-Mufid himself cites, or refers to, this lineage of his, nor one in which he mentions, or refers to, an Arab tribe to which he belongs.

b

Professor 'Irfãn states[8]: 'Among those who wrote elegies on [al-

[7] al-Kulaynī, *al-Kãfī*, vol.8, p.246; al-Ḥusayn ibn Sa'īd, *al-Mu'min*, p.56; al-Majlisī, *al-Biḥãr*, vol.21, pp.137, 138; vol.73, p.293; at-Tirmidhī, *aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol.5, pp.389, 734, 735; Abū Dãwūd, *as-Sunan*, vol.4, p.331; Aḥmad, *al-Musnad*, vol.2, pp.361, 523-4; Ibn Hishãm, *as-Sīrah*, vol.4, pp.54-55; al-Wãqidī, *al-Maghãzī*, vol.2, pp.835-7; Ibn Sa'd, *aṭ-Ṭabaqãt*, vol.2 pt.1, p.103; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *at-Tãrīkh*, vol.1, p1642.

[8] *The Emendation of A Shī'ite* Creed, Intro., p.4.

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Mufīd] was his pupil, the Sharīf ar-Raḍī.' This can only be a slip or an unintended mistake. The Sharīf ar-Raḍī died in the year 406/1015, two years before the death of his teacher, al-Mufīd. The one who elegized him was another of his students, ar-Raḍī's brother, the Sharīf al-Murtaḍã, who died in 436/1044, who elegized him with a *qaṣīdah* rhyming in *mīm* of thirty-three verses.[9]

3
THE EXTENT OF AL-MUFĪD'S RELATIONS WITH AṢ-ṢADŪQ

This book, *Taṣḥīḥu 'l-i'tiqãd*, is a commentary on the book *I'tiqãdãtu 'l-Imãmiyyah*, written by aṣ-Ṣadūq, the Shaykh Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, Ibn Bãbawayh, al-Qummī (*c* 306/919–381/991). In this book, the Shaykh al-Mufīd comments on the places in which he disagrees with what aṣ-Ṣadūq said, either in matters of independent reasoning, or concerning the evidence upon which aṣ-Ṣadūq relies, or on the grounds of the nature of the argumentation where they agree upon the evidence. Some discussion of this aspect will follow.

As for the connection between al-Mufīd and aṣ-Ṣadūq, aṣ-Ṣadūq was one of those with whom al-Mufīd studied in the early years of his life when he was not yet twenty years old. al-Mufīd studied with him when aṣ-Ṣadūq was in Baghdad, and heard Traditions from him. He received his authorization (*ijãzah*) to transmit his writings and his narrations of Traditions; thus aṣ-Ṣadūq was one of al-Mufīd's mentors in Traditions. I believe that the duration of this relationship was short for the following reason.

aṣ-Ṣadūq was born and raised in Qum and then emigrated to

[9] *Dīwãnu 'l-Murtaḍã*, vol.3, pp.204-6.

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Rayy, where he resided until he died. He travelled in search of Traditions and other material, and made a journey to Iraq on his way to the *ḥajj*. aṣ-Ṣadūq himself mentions that he came to Baghdad on his way to the *ḥajj* in the year 352/963.[10] It appears that he came to Baghdad towards the end of that year, because he left Rayy on a pilgrimage to Mashhad (of ar-Riḍã, peace be upon him) in the middle of that year.[11] His *ḥajj* was in the following year, 353/964, so he must have left Baghdad in the middle of the year, considering the conditions of travel in those days, and the time, which it would have taken him to cover the distance and carry out the rites of the *ḥajj*. What indicates this chronology of events is that aṣ-Ṣadūq mentions that he was in Fayd (a town half-way between Kūfah and Makkah)[12] in 354/965 after completing the *ḥajj* to the House of Allãh,[13] and that he reached Kūfah in the middle of that year.[14] In the same year, on his way back from Madīnah, he was in Hamadãn, in Iran, relatively near to his home-town of Rayy if considered in relation to Kūfah.[15] It is inconceivable that he should have performed the *ḥajj* in the same year, 354/965, in which he was in Fayd on his return, then in Kūfah and later in Hamadãn. The *ḥajj* only occurs in the last month of the lunar year, and in the light of all this it can be concluded that aṣ-Ṣadūq could only have stayed in Baghdad a few months, not a complete year, and that these months were at the end of 352/ 963 and at the beginning of the following year. One therefore has to disagree

[10] *'Uyūnu 'l-akhbãr*, vol.1, pp.59 & 279; *Kamãlu 'd-dīn*, vol.1, pp.93, & 277.
[11] *'Uyūnu 'l-akhbãr*, vol.1, pp.14, 99, 118, 178, 209; vol.2, pp.99, 121, 238, & 279; *Ma'ãni 'l-akhbãr*, p.145; *at-Tawḥīd*, p.406.
[12] *Mu'jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.4, p.282.
[13] *'Uyūnu 'l-akhbãr*, vol.2, p.57.
[14] *Ibid.*, vol.1, pp.81, 129, 138, 144, 249-50, & 262; *al-Amãlī*, vol.2, pp.13, 65, 93, and many other places; *al-Khiṣãl*, vol.1, pp.46, 57, 83; vol.2, pp.13, 65, & 93.
[15] *al-Khiṣãl*, vol.1, pp.106, 295 & 320; *at-Tawḥīd*, p.77.

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with what an-Najāshī states about aṣ-Ṣadūq reaching Baghdad in 355/966[16] – and all those who dated his entering Baghdad to that year took this from him – because this would necessarily mean either that he returned there from Hamadān, where he was in 354/965, when he was half-way back to Rayy, or that he headed back to Baghdad a second time after reaching Rayy, and that would seem to be very far-fetched.

Whatever may have happened, the Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq reached Baghdad, narrated, and also heard, Traditions there. The Imāmī *shaykh*s studied with him, according to an-Najāshī, and among them was the Shaykh al-Mufīd. Naturally, in such a short time his lectures could not have included all his books and narrations, and most of them must have been narrations by proxy, not his own lectures in the strict sense of the word.

The relationship between these two men – according to what I have mentioned – was not a master/pupil relationship, in the strict sense of these terms, such that aṣ-Ṣadūq can be counted, as he is by Professor 'Irfān in the introduction to this translation, as one of al-Mufīd's teachers. It is accurate to distinguish in this discussion between being a teacher's student and acquiring Traditions from a *shaykh*. In the strict sense, al-Mufīd had only four teachers who were scholars of theology, and these were enumerated in my earlier biography of him; and in the legal sciences such as (*fiqh*), and *ḥadīth* there was a single teacher, with whom al-Mufīd studied for many years and 'from whom he acquired what he knew', as his biographers state, and this was the Shaykh Abu 'l-Qāsim Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja'far Mūsā, Ibn Qūlawayh, al-Qummī, later al-Baghdādī (*c* 282/898–368/979). When al-Mufīd died, he was buried beside the grave of his teacher in the holy shrine at Kāẓimayn [Iraq].

[16] *al-Fihrist*, (Bombay, 1317), p.276.

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4
DIFFERENCES IN HOW IDEAS ARE ARGUED DO NOT REFLECT DIFFERENCES IN THE IDEAS THEMSELVES

Before we enter the main part of the discussion of the dogmatics of the Imãmīs and their two schools of Tradition and theology, a fact of the utmost importance must be stated right at the beginning, one which it would be an error to leave unnoticed or ignored, which is that it is necessary to distinguish between a given belief as such and the demonstration of that belief and how it is attained. Opinion can concur on one of the principal dogmas while the demonstrations which establish that principle can differ. For example, unicity (*tawḥīd*) is the most important principal dogma of Islam, and no Muslim can be counted as such unless he acknowledges it and those attributes of the Creator or the aspects of His Oneness which establish the necessity of belief. However, there are differences in the way in which unicity and the attestation of the Creator are sum-marily demonstrated, or in which their details are elaborated. These demonstrations can depend on the Holy Qur'ãn and the *Sunnah*, or they can depend on intellectual proofs. This differ-ence in the kind of proof, or in the nature of the demonstration, be it right or wrong, does not necessarily mean there is a difference in the dogma itself.

It would be possible to give dozens of examples of this. The Imãmate, according to the meaning of it in which the Imãmīs believe, by which they are distinguished from other Muslim sects, is a dogma which all the Imãmīs share. In its very nature it is a matter, which depends on transmission, i.e., the Qur'ãn and the *Sunnah*, but there are serious differences in its demonstration, and between one scholar and another there can be total disagreement. We may find one scholar exclusively citing Qur'ãnic verses and Traditions, while another, who cites, alongside what

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is called 'transmitted proofs', intellectual proofs, within the limits within which this kind of discussion is bound by intellectual proofs and their particular domain. If the well known debates of, the famous Imãmī theologian, on the Imãmate are referred to,[17] a great difference will be found between him and many who gave theological arguments for the Imãmate, whether they were contemporary with him or came after him. It is not only that Hishãm quoted Traditions without discussion and opinion, explanation and commentary, but frequently he did not quote a specific Tradition verbatim and referred only to the meaning and recited its contents as if it were he who were saying it.

One of the clearest examples of what is being discussed can be found in the difference between *I'tiqãdãtu 'l-Imãmiyyah* by our Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq, and *Taṣḥīḥu 'l-i'tiqãd* by our Shaykh al-Mufīd, as will be shown. Moreover, a single author, such as al-Mufīd, differs in the kind of discussion he uses from one place to another. A good example occurs in the introduction which al-Mufīd wrote for the *Kitãbu 'l-Irshãd*, in one part of which he employed the style of *ḥadīth* quotation, and in another the style of dialectical theology; and yet both sections are concerned with exactly the same topic. This is not to say that the Imãmiy-yah differed on the subject of the Imãmate itself, or its meaning and special characteristics; however, it is correct for us to distinguish between two schools among them: that of Tradition, and that of dialectical theology. Moreover, it is the case that their approaches differed with respect to the study of the Imãmate.

For a precise examination, which does not jump to conclusions on the basis of those instances in which we initially find difference and disagreement in the substance of the two approaches, we must carefully consider the effect these methods

[17] See, e.g., *al-Kãfī*, vol.l, pp.171-3; al-Kishshī, pp.258-63; *Kamãlu 'd-dīn*, vol.20, pp.362-8; *al-Khiṣãl*, vol.1, p.215; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, pp.218-21; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.48, pp.189-93, 197-203.

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had upon the fundamental conclusions which their adherents arrived at, and then weigh the results one against the other not the methods utilised to reach these results. In the light of this, we can then conclude whether there really was a difference in opinion or belief; otherwise, the consideration of mere methodological differences will lead to erroneous assumptions about differences in the principle of the belief, which each method supports or refutes.

5
THOSE BELIEFS WHICH ARE INCUMBENT ON BELIEVERS AND THOSE WHICH ARE NOT

It is now necessary to turn our attention to what the Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq states in *I'tiqādātu 'l-Imāmiyyah*, to the additions the Shaykh al-Mufīd makes in *Taṣḥīḥu 'l-i'tiqād*, and to what they both say, in general, about the beliefs of the Imāmiyyah. What follows divides itself into two sections, something which is not specific to the beliefs of the Imāmiyyah alone, but is in fact generally the case with Muslim dogmatics; nevertheless, we shall restrict our discussion to the Imāmiyyah.

a

The beliefs, which true faith, requires of every responsible individual **(mukallaf):** A Muslim cannot be considered one of the Imāmiyyah unless he maintains all of these. No one of them is excused for not knowing them, and, because of that, the ignorant person has to attain knowledge in such a way that he can learn proofs and ways of thinking so that the true faith is produced in him through knowledge and peace of mind. The five dogmatic principles are, in brief: Unicity (*tawḥīd*), i.e. that Allāh, Eternal, All-Powerful, and All-Wise, is alone the Creator, and is alone to be worshipped, without associates in either

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creation or worship; Justice (*'adl*), meaning that Allãh, praise be upon Him, does not oppress or persecute, not because he is unable to do so, but rather because His essence is divine per-fection, free from evil-doing, and never without good; the Hereafter (*ma'ãd*), the meaning of which is clear and does not vary between Muslims; Prophethood (*nubuwwah*), which is the belief in the message of the Prophet of Islam, may Allãh bless him and his family and grant them salvation, and that he is the seal of the prophets, after whom no prophet will appear, and that the Holy Qur'ãn is the book which Allãh sent down to him as proof of his prophethood and a manifestation of His message; and the Imãmate, the explanation of which will follow.

b

***Elaborations on the issues of Unicity, Justice, the Hereafter, Prophethood, and the Imãmate*:** It is not necessary that every *mukallaf* – that is, everyone who has the necessary prerequisites for responsibility for his duties – should know these details; nor does he have to learn about these elaborations to the point where he believes in them – as, on the contrary, it is necessary for him to learn how to pray, for example, in order to be able to perform the prayer–; ignorance in these cases is pardonable. Most of the contents of the book *I'tiqãdãu 'l-Imãmiyyah*, with respect to the elaborations on the five principles we have indicated, belong to this second catagory. Our Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq did not intend to clarify simply those beliefs incumbent upon the individual, but rather those beliefs, which the Imãmiyyah hold as a whole, whether or not such a belief was requisite. The intention in this was to give a clear, comprehensible picture of the doctrines of the Imãmiyyah in matters which had caused concern among certain Muslims, whether there was agreement in the matter or not.

I have made this point in order that we may avoid gross

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mistakes or inaccuracy in understanding the Imãmiyyah and their beliefs. As a single example of learned and detailed investigation to this effect, one has the work of a scholar who is considered one of the most renowned Imãmī scholars and *fuqahã'*, the Shaykh Murtaḍã al-Anṣãrī (1214/1800–1281/1864), in his well-known textbook *Farãidu 'l-uṣūl*, which is famous as *ar-Rasãil*, where he discusses the problem of the sufficiency of probable opinion (*ẓann*) in the principles of the religion; and there are additionally the glosses which a group of the greatest and the most knowledgable *mujtahid*s and jurists of the Imãmiyyah in recent times have written on it.[18]

6
THE BELIEFS OF THE IMÃMIYYAH

To begin with, the lmãmiyyah distinguish themselves from other Muslim groups by their doctrine of the divine Imãmate, from which they take their name. Thus Muslims are split into two sects on the basis of their different positions on the question of who should succeed the Prophet, may Allãh bless him and his family and grant them salvation. (The history of this division, when and why the schism occurred, is not our concern at this point.) First there are those who maintain that the Prophet of Allãh designated an imãm after him in a way which was unequivocal and did not require interpretation, that this was done through a revelation from Allãh and was not a result of his personal desire for which there was absolutely no divine command, and that he named them individually and said how many there would be, especially the first of them, he being 'Alī, the Commander of the Faithful, peace be upon him; that the Imãms posess knowledge of the *sharī'ah*, infallibility, perfec-

[18] *ar-Rasãil*, offset, Tehran, 1377, pp.230-42.

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tion, and the power to work miracles such as the Prophet posessed, and that they must be obeyed and revered as he must be; the only difference lies in Prophethood and the revelation of the Divine Law, which are peculiar to him – there is no prophet after him. Secondly, there are those who do not believe in the Imãmate in this sense, and who maintain instead that the matter of succession was either neglected, as the Prophet did not say anything definite about it, or that it was left to the Muslims themselves to choose whom they wished to rule over them, although they differed about how they should choose him, what his qualities should be, and the characteristics of the electors.

However, the differences between the Imãmiyyah and other Muslim sects concerning the Imãmate carries over to disagreements in many other matters, some of which pertain to basic dogma, and some to law and jurisprudence. The most important points of dogma in which the Imãmiyyah differed from other Muslim sects are as follows:

a

Regarding Unicity, they believe in the complete and total rejection of any belief in the corporeality of Allãh or in anthropomorphism, either in a literal or an interpreted sense. On this basis, they catagorically deny that Allãh is visible, either in this world or in the Hereafter, in wakefulness or in dreams. They also reject the attribution of spatio-temporal movement and translocation to Him, because they deny that time and place can be ascribed to Him.

b

They believe that the attributes of Allãh divide themselves into attributes of essence and attributes of action, and that the former exist in the very existence of His essence, and are absolutely

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one with Him, eternally pre-existent in, not with, the pre-existence of His essence itself. On the other hand, attributes of action are, in reality, actions of Allãh, which come into existence. On this basis, they distinguish between the All-Knowing (*al-'Ãlim*) and the Living (*al-Ḥayy*), and the Creator (*al-Khãliq*), the Provider (*ar-Rãziq*), and the Speaker (*al-Mutakallim*); (these examples are merely cited by way of illustration, and are by no means exhaustive). They also maintain that the second group of attributes derive from the actions of Allãh, and come into existence with the coming into existence of the act. For this reason, they do not believe that the Qur'ãn is eternally uncreated, although some of them avoided saying that it was created.

c

With respect to Justice (*'adl*), whereby they counted themselves among the 'Adliyyah, their belief contains both elaborations and consequence: (i) the impossibility of demanding that a legally responsible individual do that which he is unable to do; (ii) the impossibility of punishing an individual for that which he could not avoid doing, or was unable to do, except when his inability sprang from his own choice; (iii) the evil of punishment without clear notification; and (iv) the necessity for Allãh to establish a Proof (*ḥujjah*) for creatures by way of mercy (*lutf*) – part of this is the sending of the Messenger.

7
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE IMÃMIYYAH AND THE MU'TAZILAH

However, the picture of the Imãmiyyah and their beliefs which emerges among historians of the sect – and I am referring to those who were not themselves Imãmī – differs from the aforesaid in several respects. Even if these writers did not distin-

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guish between Imãmī ideas and opinions and the kind of demonstration used, it is nevertheless a picture, which gives us reason to pause. There exists a prevailing opinion among them that these ideas and opinions were passed on to Imãmī scholars at a time somewhat after the formation of the sect, through their being influenced by the thinking of the Mu'tazilah and following their teachers.

This is the approach that Professor 'Irfãn adopts in his introduction generally, and specifically in the third part, in which he comments upon the sections of the book in more detail; and this is one of the reasons we have not published it. This third part investigates the relationship between Shī'ī and Mu'tazilī theology at the time of the Buyids. He states:[19]

> A critical examination reveals that the shift in Shī'ī theology from its form based on *ḥadīth* to its rationalist, interpretative form was in the beginning inspired by the critical and rationalist positions of the Mu'tazilah . . .
>
> al-Mufīd exemplifies the novel rationalist direction in Shī'ī thought, which was responsible for the rejection of a literal interpretation of the divine *sharī'ah*, and which introduced rationalist and interpretative explanations of it into the teachings of the Imãmiyyah . . .
>
> A critical, comparative examination of the differences between *Taṣḥīḥu 'l-i'tiqãd* and its precursors must centre itself upon the influence of the Mu'tazilah upon the Imãmiyyah.

In addition to these statements, in which he fails to distinguish between differences in belief and differences in the methods of proof or ways of demonstration, Professor 'Irfãn also makes the following points:

i) That the Imãmiyyah were, at the beginning of their history, transmitters of *ḥadīth* and partisans of doctrines based solely

[19] *The Emendation of A Shī'ite Creed*, Intro., p.13ff.

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upon the Holy Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*, without recourse to reason (*'aql*) and the sort of demonstration resting upon its use, which they rejected.

ii) That the shift in Shī'ī theology from its early form to a subsequent variant one was a result of the contact of the Imāmiyyah with Mu'tazilī ideas, by way of the instruction they received from Mu'tazilī *shaykh*s and the influence of their views.

iii) That al-Mufīd was the first to complete this shift.

iv) That this judgement is based upon a comparison between the theological views of al-Mufīd and those of his predecessor aṣ-Ṣadūq.

v) That the 'rationalist school of theology', with which al-Mufīd is associated, is defined as 'the rational and metaphor-ical, or interpretative, explanation of the Muslim *sharī'ah*.'

We shall treat the first four of these points in what follows. It is enough to comment here on the definition of the rationalist school he gives by saying that the *sharī'ah* has two facets: the dogmatic aspect, or what is designated as the principles of the religion, which the faith requires of the Muslim, and the practical aspect, or derivatives of the religion, which are the divine laws associated with worship, transactions, rights, the judicial process, and all that which is investigated in the science of *fiqh*. Allāh forbid that our Shaykh al-Mufīd and all the Imāmiyyah, not to mention the Mu'tazilah and those who followed them, such as the Zaydiyyah, should rely on rational or interpretative explanations for the derivatives of the religion, such as prayer, fasting, *zakāt*, *ḥajj*, and the other laws of worship and transactions, including everything contained in the *sharī'ah* and explained comprehensively and succinctly in the books of *fiqh*. It is true that there are some who speak of a hidden meaning (*bāṭin*) in the *sharī'ah*, and who explain prayer, fasting, and *ḥajj* in a way that excludes their being acts of worship; instead, they

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maintain, the *sharī'ah* contains secrets such that he who discovers them and holds faith in them has no need to act according to the ostensive meaning of the divine law, and that the burden of the law is lifted from him. How few are those who believe such things and speak of themselves as Muslims; and how many are those who accuse people of this falsely and maliciously, and are actually trying to dispel suspicion or repel accusations levelled at themselves.

It is necessary for us to add that rationalist and interpretative explanation of the Book [of Allãh] and the *Sunnah* regarding matters of belief is not, as some would have it, arbitrary or wishful, zealous or fanciful, or some sort of search for buried treasure, or a devilish incitement to revolt against Allãh and His Prophet. Rather, it centres upon the adoption of the stronger of two arguments, and the explication of the weaker of the two in light of the stronger, or on the basis of a comparison and evaluation of the evidence used. For this activity there are principles and guidelines, which form the subject matter of the science of *uṣūlu 'l-fiqh*.

8
THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE IN THE PRINCIPAL BELIEFS BETWEEN THE TWO IMÃMĪ SCHOOLS

The Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq stands out amongst the Imãmī scholars of Tradition and Narration. A few aspects of his distinctive character have been mentioned in the introduction to the English translation of his book *I'tiqãdãtu 'l-Imãmiyyah*. He came from a scholarly family, distinguished in the science of *ḥadīth* and its transmission, and he faithfully adopted their methods. All of what he held conforms with what the Imãmī scholars of *ḥadīth* agreed upon, especially the Qummī school, or at least with what the greatest of them taught, except in a few

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places, such as the inattention of the Prophet in prayer. In this latter opinion he followed his teacher Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥams ibn al-Walīd, whom the majority of scholars, Tradition-ist or otherwise, did not agree with.

A comparative study of *I'tiqādātu 'l-Imāmiyyah* and the commentary made upon it by the Shaykh al-Mufīd in *Taṣḥīḥu 'l-'tiqād* reveals the overwhelming concurrance of the Traditionist and theological schools of the lmāmiyyah with respect to the principles of dogma and its details; in comparison, the points where the two schools disagree in these matters are very few. Indeed, the difference between them is only in the method of demonstrating their opinions in dogmatics.

A comparative study also reveals that criticisms by lmāmī theologians of the *ḥadīth* which the Traditionists relied upon did not arise essentially from their stances on dogma and their disagreements about the principles of theology, but rather was centred on standards for the criticism of the *ḥadīth* each Traditionist employed, through criticizing the chain of transmission, bringing its narration into question and showing that one of its transmitters was not trustworthy, or through casting doubt upon what it proved, rejecting it because it contradicted a stronger proof from the verses of the Holy Qur'ān or from *ḥadīth* whose chain of transmission was superior to it or whose proof was clearer. This must be set against the accusation usually made by non-Imāmī Traditionists, including the theologians of the Jahmiyyah, Mu'tazilah, Murjiah, and others: that they completely rejected verses of the Holy Qur'ān and well-established Prophetic *sunnah* if these disagreed with their own theological views.

It may be that the secret to understanding this methodological dispute between the Imāmī and non-Imāmī Traditionist schools goes back firstly to the difference between the nature of the Imāmī and non-Imāmī *ḥadīth* which each of them chose to

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employ, as we shall indicate. Secondly, Imãmī and non-Imãmī *mutakallim*s are distinguishable in that rarely does one come upon an Imãmī *mutakallim* who is not also well versed in *ḥadīth* and its sciences, such that he combined these two qual-ities equally in his theology. If a man specialised in *ḥadīth*, he was not ignorant in *kalãm*, adopting a hostile and controver-sial stance opposing it; and if he was addressing theological issues, then he did not find himself able to dispense with *ḥadīth* and their soundness of transmission, as was said about others.

Another of the Shaykh al-Mufīd's works, *Awãilu 'l-maqãlãt fi 'l-madhãhib wa 'l-mukhtãrãt* reveals differences between Imãmī scholars up to his time, whether they were scholars exclusively of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, or exclusively of *kalãm* (to the best of my knowledge, this applies only to some members of the Banū Nawbakht), or of both. But these differences are few when compared to their agreements. Such a study also reveals differences between these scholars and those from other prominent sects of Muslims up to al-Mufīd's time.

On these matters, there is a need for a detailed study com-paring the books of aṣ-Ṣadūq and al-Mufīd. As space is limited here, however, it will suffice to cite the conclusions of a Western scholar, Dr. Martin J. McDermott, as they appear in his book *The Theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd*. Here I quote a short passage, in which he states:

> Ibn Bãbūya [aṣ-Ṣadūq] was a traditionist. When he set out to explain a difficulty or answer a question, he preferred to quote a tradition rather than reason out an answer of his own. Even his creed, the *Risãlat al-i'tiqãdãt*, consists largely of traditions strung together. Nevertheless he did hold many of the same theses as the theologians, and when a tradition he was reporting seemed to contradict one of his theological views, on God's Unity or Justice, for example, Ibn Bãbūya would interject his own inter-pretation of the

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tradition.

Herein lies Ibn Bãbūya's major difference from his pupil, al-Mufīd, who is a theologian as well as a traditionist. When a point can be proved both from revelation and an argument from reason, al-Mufīd generally prefers to rely on the latter, quoting the tradition or quranic text as supplementary argument.

Most of the important theological doctrines held by Ibn Bãbūya and his pupil are the same. . . .

Here he goes on to review the points of difference between the two as evident in their books. Then he states:

Ibn Bãbūyã, then, is a traditionist with many views that are akin to Mu'tazilite theses. Al-Mufīd is a theologian as well as a traditionist, and his views, though basically simi-lar to Ibn Bãbūya's, go further in a Mu'tazilite direction.[20]

I shall not comment on McDermott's words at all here, as the reader will himself find the differences between us in opinion and in conclusions in the following discussion.

9
WIDE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO NON-IMÃMĪ SCHOOLS

We must examine, if only very briefly, what has been referred to up to now as the 'non-lmãmī school of theologians', since there are common points which are mentioned as stemming from the beliefs of the 'poeple of *ḥadīth* and Tradition', and on the basis of which their views and beliefs are weighed against those of others, which were in fact taken from the non-Imãmī school, and proofs and evidence which are mentioned in this

[20] Martin McDermott, *The Theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd*, Dãr al-Mashriq, Beirut, 1978, pp.367-9.

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field which exist in a complete form in the body of *ḥadīth* which the non-Imãmī Traditionists relate, and which form the sole basis for the opinions which they adopted, or which were attributed to them.

In addition, the intellectual and doctrinal contradiction between the Traditionist and theological schools – in those days they were the Mu‘tazilah, the Jahmiyyah, the Murjiah, and those who followed in their wake – was borrowed from non-Imãmī *ḥadīth*, from the opinions of non-Imãmī Tradition-ists, from their attitude towards the views of the theologians, from their dismissal of them, and from their criticism of those who held them; and indeed, from their criticism of them for the theological trend, in a general sense, in religious belief.

It is not correct to make these general characteristics, or these general contradictions, into a general trait of either the Imãmī or the non-Imãmī Traditionist trend, which is above all else based on the Holy Qur’ãn and the *Sunnah*, in deducing and formulating religious doctrine.

What is called the 'Traditionist school' – a more accurate term for them, which they themselves prefer, is 'the people of *ḥadīth* and Tradition' (*ahlu 'l-ḥadīth wa 'l-athar*) – was not a school of thought which was defined and clearly characterized in all or many respects, as was the case with the Mu‘tazilah or the Jahmiyyah, for example, so that it is possible to specify what opinions they agreed upon, and what distinguished them from other sects. Moreover, this designation was assigned to them not by their own choosing, but was derived from their positions and views. All that they believed was: that those who were involved with *ḥadīth* should not go beyond the *ḥadīth* which had come down to them, and which they believed to be true, in explaining their opinions and representing their beliefs, but that they should rely on the narration of the ostensive wording of the *ḥadīth* for expressing their views and should not

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change the wording for the convenience of the meaning.

Whatever we may say about them, the Traditionists certainly did not fit into one single mould, but rather into many, since the extent of the difference between any one Traditionist and any one of those they called theologians is only to be measured by the quantity of what the Traditionist narrated and the number of *ḥadīth* he narrated whose veracity he was committed to. It is clear that the Traditionists differed in the number of *ḥadīth*, which they narrated, and in the number, which they believed to be true. Moreover, they varied between those who had few and those who had many, and between those who were generous in judging veracity, and those who were strict, not judging them to be true unless many conditions were fulfilled. On this basis the *ḥadīth* differed in terms of those whose narrations they agreed upon and those, which were only narrated by some, as well as in terms of those whose veracity they were agreed upon and those whose veracity they were not agreed upon.

It should be noted that even though the Ash‘arī school was based on the rejection of Mu‘tazīlī thinking, its teaching was primarily concerned with reconciliation and not rejection. For the teaching encompassed by it and contained in it went back to Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī, ‘Alī ibn Ismã‘īl ibn Abī Bashīr, al-Baṣrī (260/874 or 270/883–324/936), the *imãm* of the Ash‘arīs, who quarrelled with his Mu‘tazīlī teachers over the fact that, according to him, they used to reject anything that went against their views even when the Holy Qur’ãn and the authentic *Sunnah*, in his own view, supported it. However, there is not enough space here to speak at length about this or to marshal the evidence concerning it.

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10
EXAMPLES OF NON-IMĀMĪ TRADITIONIST OPINIONS

It is not necessary here to speak at length about the *ḥadīth*, which are from our non-Imāmī brothers, as it is possible for the reader to find them comprehensively collected in the following sources:

1. Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl, Abū ‘Abdillāh al-Bukhārī (194/810–256/870): *Khalq af‘āli 'l-‘ibād*;
2. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal, Abū ‘Abdillāh ash-Shaybānī (164/780–241/855), the *imām* of the Ḥanbalīs: *ar-Radd ‘ala 'l-Jahmiyyah wa 'z-Zanādiqah*;
3. Abū ‘Abdi 'r-Raḥmān, ‘Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, (213/828–288/901): *as-Sunnah*;
4. ‘Uthmān ibn Sa‘īd, Abū Sa‘īd ad-Dārimī (*c* 199/815–280/894): *ar-Radd ‘ala 'l-Jahmiyyah* and *ar-Radd ‘alā Bishr al-Marrīsī*;
5. Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Khuzaymah as-Salamī an-Naysābūrī (223/838–311/924): *at-Tawḥīd wa ithbāt ṣifati 'r-rabb*;
6. Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Ājurī, ash-Shāfi‘ī, al-Baghdādī (*c* 280/893–360/970): *ash-Sharī‘ah*.

And with reference to the interpretation of the Ash‘arīs, see:

1. Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Fūrak al-Iṣbahānī, al-Ash‘arī, ash-Shāfi‘ī (d. 406/1015): *Mushkilu 'l-ḥadīth*;
2. Aḥmad (Ḥamad) ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī, al-Bustī, al-Ash‘arī, ash-Shāfi‘ī (319/931–388/998): al-Bayhaqī has quoted, below, many of his works;
3. Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī, Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī, al-Ash‘arī, ash-Shāfi‘ī (384/994–458/1066): *al-Asmā’ wa 'ṣ-ṣifāt* and *al-I‘tiqād*;
4. ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibatillāh, Abu 'l-Qāsim ibn ‘Asākir ad-Dimashqī, al-Ash‘arī, ash-Shāfi‘ī (499/1105–571/1176): *Tabyīn kidhbi 'l-muftarī fī-mā nasaba ilā Abi 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī*.

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All these sources are in print; al-Khaṭṭābī's opinions are contained in al-Bayhaqī. I shall only give examples of the opinions of the Traditionists and ignore those who were *imām*s of a *madhhab*, such as the Ḥanbalī Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, whose views and beliefs form the foundation for the doctrines of Ibn Taymiyyah, Taqiyyu 'd-Dīn, Aḥmad ibn 'Abdi 'l-Ḥalīm al-Ḥarrānī, al-Ḥanbalī (661/1263–728/1328), and Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi 'l-Wahhāb an-Najdī al-Ḥanbalī (1115/1703–1206/1792), the heralds and leaders of the Salafiyyah, as they call themselves, or 'the Wahhābiyyah', as others refer to them. I shall also steer clear of the *imām*s of other *madhhab*s, lest someone should associate me with people with whom I do not wish to be associated. Those who wish to study the views of the Ḥanbalī and other schools can find them in the afore-mentioned sources; in connection with the defence of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, see the two following sources:

l. 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, Abu 'l-Faraj ibn al-Jawzī al-Baghdādī, al-Ḥanbalī (508/1114–597/1201): *Daf' shubahi 't-tashbīḥ bi-akuffi 't-tanzīh*;

2. Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi 'l-Mu'min, Taqiyyu 'd-Dīn al-Ḥiṣnī, ad-Dimashqī, al-Ash'arī, ash-Shāfi'ī (752/1351–829/1426): *Daf' shubah man shabbaha wa tamarrada wa nasaba dhālika ila 'l-Imām Aḥmad*.

* * * * *

Abu 'l-Faraj ibn al-Jawzī stated:

> Know that all the Traditionists made the ostensive meaning of everything that had to do with the attributes of the Creator conform to the senses, and thus they were anthropomorphists, because they did not mix with the *fuqahā'*, so as to learn how to make the ambiguous conform with the unambiguous.[21]

He also said:

[21] *Talbīs Iblīs*, al-Munīriyyah Press, Cairo, 1368, p.116.

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> Know that people are at three levels concerning reports of [His] attributes: first, at a level at which they are taken literally, with no explanation or interpretation, unless necessity demands it – as in the case of His words: *and thy Lord comes* [al-Fajr, 89:22], i.e., His decree came – *viz.* the Salafiyyah; secondly, at the level of interpretation, which is a perilous position; and thirdly, at a level which is called conformity with the senses, which is common among ignorant 'reporters' [by this he means the Traditionists], since they possess no part of the intellectual sciences, which let it be known what is possible and what is impossible for Allãh, for intellectual science turns the ostensive meanings of what is reported away from anthropomorphism. Since they were deprived of this, they were at liberty in Traditions to make them conform to the senses.[22]

In refutation of those who held that most of the Ḥanbalīs were corporealists and anthropomorphists, Ibn Taymiyyah said:

> The corporealists and anthropomorphists were more prevalent in groups other than [that of] the followers of the Imãm Aḥmad; these include certain groups of Kurds, all of whom are Shãfi'ī, and among them is found more corporealism and anthropomorphism than in any other group, and the people of Gīlãn, among whom are Shãfi'īs and Ḥanbalīs. As for the pure Ḥanbalīs, there was not as much of it among them as among others; the Karãmiyyah were all Ḥanafīs.[23]

I do not agree with Ibn Taymiyyah in his defence of the members of his school, but I shall remain silent about it – an apology to our brothers the Kurds whom Ibn Taymiyyah spoke

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[22] *Daf' shubahi 't-tashbīh bi-akuffi 't-tanzīh*, al-Maktabah at-Tawfīqiyyah, Cairo, 1976, pp.73-74.

[23] *al-Munãẓirah fi 'l-'aqīdati 'l-Wãsiṭiyyah, Majmū'atu 'r-rasãili 'l-kubrã*, Dãr Iḥyã' at-Turãthi 'l-'Arabī, Beirut, offprint 2, 1392/1972, vol.1, p.418.

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of as he did, for they know him as well as I do. As for the people of Gīlān, they stopped being Shāfi‘ī and Ḥanbalī centuries ago, and today they are all Imāmī Shī‘ī.

11
THE POSITION OF NON-IMĀMĪ TRADITIONISTS ON ANTHROPOMORPHISM

As examples of what Ibnu 'l-Jawzī pointed out in his discussion of the Traditionists, I shall choose three who are not clear-cut Ḥanbalīs, and I shall provide a short biography of each of them, so that I will not be accused of having stumbled upon two obscure and undistinguished men who were of little significance among Traditionists:

1. Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Makhlad ibn Ibrāhīm, Abū Ya‘qūb al-Ḥanẓalī al-Marwazī, Ibn Rāhwayh an-Naysābūrī (161/778–238/853). al-Kātib said: "He was one of the leaders of the Muslims, a landmark in religion; he combined knowledge of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, his memeory was excellent and reliable, and he was pious and an ascetic. He travelled to Iraq, the Ḥijāz, Yemen, and Shām . . . He came to Baghdad and became familiar with the memorizers of *ḥadīth* there, and exchanged narrations with them. He returned to Khurāsān and settled in Naysābūr."

al-Mazzī and as-Subkī said of him: "He was the teacher of al-Bukhārī, Muslim, at-Tirmidhī, Abū Dāwūd, and an-Nasā’ī, . . . Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, . . . and Yaḥyā ibn Mu‘īn . . ."

Nu‘aym ibn Ḥammād said: "If you see an ‘Irāqī casting aspersions on Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, have your doubts about his beliefs; and if you see a Khurāsānī casting aspersions on Isḥāq ibn Rāhwayh, have your doubts about his beliefs." And an-Nasā’ī said: "He was a leader, trustworthy, reliable." Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal said: "If Abū Ya‘qūb [Ibn Rāhwayh], the com-mander of the traditionists, narrates something to you, hold on to it."

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Abū Ḥātim said: "He was a leader of the Muslims." Ibn Ḥibbān said: "Isḥāq was a leader of his time in *fiqh* and reli-gious sciences, a memorizer [of *ḥadīth*], someone who held opinions [in these sciences], someone who wrote books, made deductions from Prophetic Traditions and defended them, and suppressed those who opposed them. His grave is well known and is visited." Abū ‘Abdillāh al-Ḥākim said: "He was the leader of his time in memorizing *ḥadīth* and giving *fatwa*s." Abū Nu‘aym al-Iṣbahānī said: "Isḥāq [ibn Rāhwayh] was an associate of Aḥmad [ibn Ḥanbal]; he elevated [the status of] *ḥadīth* and reduced deviators to nothing." adh-Dhahabī said: "The great leader, the *shaykh* of the East, the master of the memorizers [of *ḥadīth*]. On account of his memory he was the leading commentator [on the Qur’ān], one of the heads of *fiqh*, and a leader in *ijtihād*."[24]

Abū ‘Īsā at-Tirmidhī, after narrating a Tradition in which it is said that Allāh accepts alms (*ṣadaqah*) and takes it by His right hand, said:

> More than one of the *ḥadīth* scholars has said concerning this *ḥadīth* and those like it which speak of His Attributes, and concerning the descent of Allāh, blessed be He and Exalted, every night to the lowest heaven: 'The narrations about this are confirmed, and must be believed in, but one should neither conceive nor ask the question "How?"' Similar reports are narrated from Mālik ibn Anas, Sufyān ibn ‘Uyaynah, and ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Mubārak, concerning these kinds of Traditions: 'Act on them without [asking]

[24] al-Bukhārī, *at-Tārīkhu 'l-kabīr*, vol.1, pt.1, pp.379-80; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ wa 't-ta‘dīl*, vol.2, pp.209-10; Ibn Ḥibbān, *ath-Thiqāt*, vol.8, pp.115-6; al-Khatīb, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.6, pp.345-55; Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilyatu 'l-awliyā’*, vol.9, pp.234-8; al-Mazzī, *Tahdhību 'l-kamāl*, vol.2, pp.373-88; adh-Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lāmi 'n-nubalā"*, vol.11, pp.358-82; *Tadhkiratu '1-ḥuffāẓ*, vol.2, pp.433-5; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhību 't-tahdhīb*, vol.2, pp.216-9.

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how.' And this is the opinion of the Sunnī scholars. On the other hand, the Jahmiyyah denied the validity of these *ḥadīth*, saying: 'This is anthropomorphism.'

In several places in the Holy Qur'ān, Allāh, the Mighty, the Exalted, says: 'hand', 'hearing', 'sight', and the Jahmiyyah gave a linguistic interpretation (*ta'wīl*) of these verses, and gave a different exegesis from that of the *ḥadīth* scholars, saying: 'Allāh did not create by His hand; the meaning of 'hand' here being power (*quwwah*).'

Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm:[25] 'There is only anthropomorphism when one says: "A hand like [another] hand, or similar to [another] hand; or hearing like [another] hearing, or similar to [another] hearing", and when one says: "hearing like [another] hearing, or similar to [another] hearing", this is anthropomorphism. But if one says, as Allāh, the Exalted, said: "hand", "hearing", "sight", and does not ask how, and does not say: "similar to [another] hearing" or: "like [another] hearing", this is not anthropomorphism, and is like Allāh, the Exalted, saying: *There is nothing like unto Him; He is the All-hearing, the All-seeing.*'[26]

From this it is clear that at-Tirmidhī was in agreement with this latter opinion.

2. Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Khuzaymah as-Sulamī an-Naysābūrī (223/838–311/924), of whom it was said: He was the *imām* of Naysābūr in his time, a *faqīh*, a *mujtahid*, a sea among the seas of knowledge, whose advancement in science was recognized by all people of his period; aṣ-Ṣafadī, al-Yāfi‘ī, adh-Dhahabī, as-Subkī, Ibnu 'l-Jazarī, as-Suyūṭī, and Ibn ‘Abdi 'l-Ḥayy nicknamed him '*imām* of the *imām*s'. ad-Dār Quṭnī said: "He was an *imām* without equal." Ibn Kathīr stated: "He is one of the *mujtahid*s in the religion of Islam, and they say that he

[25] = Isḥāq ibn Rāhwayh, *‘Āriḍah al-aḥwadhī*, vol.30, p.332.
[26] *al-Jāmi‘u 's-ṣaḥīḥ: zakāt*, chap. "ṣadaqah", vol.3, pp.50-51, no.662.

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has miraculous powers (*karãmãt*)." as-Sam'ãnī stated: "Many [of the Traditionists] can be traced back to him, each one of whom was spoken of as a Khuzaymī [as he was the *imãm* of a Traditionist school]." This is a small sample of what was said about him.[27]

Ibn Khuzaymah asserted that Allãh has a face. He said: "The meaning of this is not that His face is like a human face; otherwise anyone could say that humans had a face, and pigs, monkeys, and dogs, and so on, have faces, and that the faces of humans are like the faces of pigs, monkeys, and dogs . . .[28]

Similarly, he mentions the eye, the hand, the palm, and the right side, saying: "The eyes of Allãh are unlike any other eyes." He adds:

> We say that our Lord the Creator has two eyes, by which He can see that which lies beneath the ground and under the seventh and lowest earth, and that which is in the highest heavens, and all that lies in between . . . Let us add a commentary and explanation and say: The eye of Allãh is eternal and everlasting, and its strength continues for-ever, and is never destroyed or extinguished, while the eyes of human beings come into being; they did not exist and were not created, then Allãh brought them into being and created them with His Word, which is one of His essential

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[27] adh-Dhahabī, *Tadhkiratu 'l-ḥuffãẓ*, vol.2, pp.720-31, *al-'Ibar*, vol.2, p.149; as-Sam'ãnī, *al-Ansãb*, vol.5, p.124; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, *al-Lubãb*, vol.1, p.442; Ibnu 'l-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol.6, pp.184-6; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidãyah wa 'n-nihãyah*, vol.11, p.149; as-Subkī, *Ṭabaqãtu 'sh-Shãfi'iyyah*, vol.3, pp.109-19; aṣ-Ṣafadī, *al-Wãfī bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.2, p.196; al-Yãfi'ī, *Mir'ãtu 'l-jinãn*, vol.2, p.264; Ibn 'Abdi 'l-Ḥayy, *Shadharãtu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.2, pp.262-3; as-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqãtu 'l-ḥuffãẓ*, pp.310-1; Ibnu 'l-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqãtu 'l-qurrã'*, vol.2, pp.97-98.

[28] *at-Tawḥīd wa ithbãt ṣifati 'r-rabb*, revised and commented upon by Muḥammad Khalīl Harãs, teacher in the College of *Uṣūlu 'd-Dīn* (in al-Azhar), al-Azhar University Library, Cairo, 1387/1968, p.23.

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attributes . . .[29]

He states that Allãh has two hands: 'His two eternal hands are everlasting, while created hands come into being . . . What a comparison!'[30] Interpretation is excluded from all this, especially the interpretation of His hands as Favour and Power.[31]

He mentions that:

> The speech of our Lord does not resemble the speech of created beings, because the speech of Allãh is unbroken, uninterrupted by a pause or mannerism, unlike the words of humans, which are broken by mannerisms and silences due to pauses [for breath], or reflection, or fatigue . . .[32]

3. 'Uthmãn ibn Sa'īd, Abū Sa'īd ad-Dãrimī, at-Tamīmī, as-Sijistãnī (*c* 199/815–280/894), al-Imãm al-Ḥãfiẓ al-Ḥujjah, a thorn in the flesh of the heretics, an upholder of the *sunnah*, trustworthy, established, an authority. It is said of him: He was an *imãm* who was emulated during his life and after his death. The Shãfi'īs mentioned him in their biographies, and the Ḥanbalīs count him among the followers of Ibn Ḥanbal.[33]

ad-Dãrimī stated that Allãh has a place (*makãn*), which he demarcated as the throne (*al-'arsh*),[34] and that He is clearly visible to His creation, above His throne in the atmosphere of the Afterlife, where there is no other creature, and no sky above Him.[35] He said:

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[29] *Ibid.*, pp.50-55.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp.82-85.
[31] *Ibid.*, pp.85-88.
[32] *Ibid.*, p.145.
[33] *Tadhkiratu 'l-ḥuffãẓ*, vol.2, pp.621-2; *al-'Ibar*, vol.2, p.64; *Mir'ãtu 'l-jinãn*, vol.2, p.193; Ibn Kathīr, vol.11, p.69; *Ṭabaqãtu 'sh-Shãfi'iyyah*, vol.2, pp.302-6; *Ṭabaqãtu 'l-ḥuffãẓ*, p.274; *Ṭabaqãtu 'l-Ḥanãbilah*, vol.1, p.221.
[34] *ar-Radd 'alã Bishr al-Marrīsī, 'Aqãid as-salaf*, published by Dr 'Alī Sãmī an-Nashshãr, 'Ammãr Jam'ī aṭ-Ṭãlibī; Munsha'atu 'l-Ma'ãrif, Alexandria, Egypt, 1971, p.382.
[35] *Ibid.*, p.439.

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> We have specified a single place for Him, the highest, purest, and most noble place: His mighty throne . . . above the seventh, highest heaven, where there are no men or jinn, no smoke, no toilet, and no devil. You [Bishr al-Marrīsī][36], along with the rest of your misguided colleagues, claim that He is in every place, in smoke, in the toilet, and next to every man and jinn! Is it you who anthropomorphize Him, when you speak of incarnation in places, or us?[37]

He said:

> If Allãh did not have hands with which to create Adam and touch him as you claimed, then it would not be possible to say [of Allãh]: by Your gracious hand.[38]
>
> Thus he ignored all meaning or explanation relating to Favour or Power, save for the two hands [for which there is a meaning, since they are the organs dedicated to sensation].[39]
>
> Truly Allãh has two fingers . . . and two legs; there is no other interpretation.[40]
>
> Although we do say, as Allãh states: *The face of thy Lord remains* (ar-Raḥmãn, 55:27). By this He meant the face that is turned towards the believers, and not good works, or the *qiblah* . . .[41]
>
> The refutation of anthropomorphism is rather that Allãh posesses all these, but that they are not analogous to created things.[42]

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[36] i.e., Bishr ibn Ghiyãth al-Marrīsī, al-Baghdãdī, al-Ḥanafī (*c* 138/755–218/833), the scholar who proclaimed and defended the theory that the Qur'ãn was created, along with other Mu'tazilī ideas, whom ad-Dãrimī is refuting.

[37] *Ibid.*, p.454.

[38] *Ibid.*, p.387.

[39] *Ibid.*, p.398.

[40] *Ibid.*, pp.420, 423-4, 427-8.

[41] *Ibid.*, p.516.

[42] *Ibid.*, p.432-3, 508.

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I have cited the above as specific examples of what has been stated about the non-Imãmī Traditionist school, and I shall not add anything to them, except what I consider necessary to note – in a very brief manner – regarding the intention of corporealism and anthropomorphism which is refuted of Allãh, and which certain proofs have refuted. The real meaning of the doctrine of corporealism or what underpins it, such as limbs or bodily extremities, locality, and time, requires the comparison of Allãh with created beings; anthropomorphism lies at the root of corporealism and its consequences, not in its typology or particularities. The doctrine that Allãh has a head or a stomach, for example – may Allãh be raised above such things – requires corporealism, and leads in the end to Allãh being comparable with created beings. Either His head or stomach are comparable to created heads or stomachs, or they do not resemble any of these heads or stomachs and are rather distinguished as a head which does not resemble any other, and a stomach which does not resemble any other, and so on for other things besides the head and the stomach.

With respect to the *ḥadīth* which they pass on and maintain as true (the sources will be mentioned), 'Allãh created Adam in His own image', according to those who explain it as the image of Allãh, and another *ḥadīth*, that Adam was created in the image of the Merciful (*ar-Raḥmãn*), these do not refer to the belief that Allãh has an image or a face, and that is all, but [to the belief] that His image and His face resemble the face and image of Adam and resemble man's face and the image of him.

12
COMPARISON OF THE IMĀMĪ AND NON-IMĀMĪ SCHOOLS

For a comparison between the above and that which is as-

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sociated with the Imãmiyyah, the reader can refer to what I have written about the Imãmī Traditionists in what I have said concerning aṣ-Ṣadūq and *al-I'tiqãdãtu 'l-Imãmiyyah* and his connection with al-Mufīd and *Taṣḥīḥu 'l-i'tiqãd*. What follows is a discussion of the *Hishãmayn*, [i.e.] Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam and Hishãm ibn Sãlim, who were accused of corporealism and anthropomorphism. As for others besides them, and those whose names are mentioned alongside them, I do not deny that there were among the Imãmiyyah those who spoke of determinism (*jabr*) and anthropomorphism, or who were accused of it, but these were very few. It is natural, with respect to all sects, and in all intellectual and religious communities, for a member or members to deviate, to stand apart with ideas and convictions, which are at odds with the group they originate from. To judge the group itself by way of judgements drawn from the stance of these few is incorrect, unless they form the majority, or are prominent or predominate to the extent that they become representative of their sect, and a model for them.

Another example which underscores what I have said comes from a study of the commentaries on *al-Kãfī* in what concerns the *ḥadīth* on Unicity in *Kitãbu 't-Tawḥīd*. Of the many commentaries of *al-Kãfī* there are four, all in print, by four contemporaneous scholars. They are:-

1. Ṣadru 'd-Dīn, Muḥammad ibn Ibrãhīm ibn Yaḥyã al-Qawãmī, ash-Shīrãzī, Ṣadru 'l-Muta'allihīn (979/1571–1050/1640): *Sharḥu 'l-Kãfī*, dealing with what is contained in the first part of the *Kitãbu 'l-Ḥujjah* in the *Uṣūlu 'l-Kãfī*.
2. Muḥammad Ṣãliḥ ibn Aḥmad al-Mãzandarãnī (d. 1086/1675), the famous scholar and Traditionist: *Sharḥ Uṣūlu 'l-Kãfī wa 'r-Rawḍah*.
3. al-Fayḍ al-Kãshãnī, Muḥammad Muḥsin (1010/1599–1091/1690), in his comments on the *ḥadīth* of *al-Kãfī* on Unicity in his book *al-Wãfī*.

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4. al-'Allãmah al-Majlisī, Muḥammad Bãqir ibn Muḥammad Taqī (1037/1628–1110/1699): *Mir'ãtu 'l-'uqūl*, which comments extensively on *al-Kãfī*.

These four differ with respect to their intellectual orientations, their knowledge of the sciences, and their specialization in its branches. Among them, one was considered an outstanding authority in Islamic philosophy, the master of one of its most famous schools, i.e., Ṣadru 'l-Muta'allihīn. Another was among those who stood between philosophy, *fiqh*, and *ḥadīth*, i.e., al-Fayḍ, and the two others were largely concerned with *ḥadīth* and its sciences, i.e., al-Majlisī and his brother-in-law al-Mãzandarãnī. A study of their commentaries and their concurrance on *ḥadīth* transmitted from the Imãms of the *Ahlu 'l-Bayt*, peace be upon them, concerning Unicity and Justice should provide us with the strongest evidence for what I have stated about the Imãmiyyah: that whatever the differences in their approaches their opinions about that which related to the fundamentals of the faith did not differ.

At the most basic level, the fundamental reason for this goes back to the nature of the Imãmī *ḥadīth* itself, and the fact that they differ from non-Imãmī *ḥadīth*. The *ḥadīth* related by non-Imamī sects – and I have listed the names of the books which refer to these *ḥadīth*, and which treat of their explanations, and of the interpretations of those which require interpretation – do not contain a trace of anything that refutes corporealism, anthropomorphism, or determinism, while at the same time they abound in *ḥadīth* which on the surface support corporealism, anthropomorphism, and determinism. The interpreters could not find reliable *ḥadīth* which explicitly refute anthropomorphism, thus enabling them to solve the problem by explicating *ḥadīth* with *ḥadīth* or by interpretating what appears to affirm it through that which textually negates it, so they were compelled to take refuge in other methods of interpretation.

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This is clearly apparent in the works of Ibn Fūrak, al-Khaṭṭābī, and al-Bayhaqī – mentioned above – and also in what was written by Abu 'l-Ma‘ālī al-Juwaynī, ‘Abdu 'l-Malik ibn ‘Abdillāh an-Naysābūrī ash-Shāfi‘ī (419/1028–478/1085), the famous Ash‘arī theologian, in his books on theology, and Fakhru 'd-Dīn ar-Rāzī, Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar ash-Shāfi‘ī (544/1150–606/1210), the *imām* of the theologians, the well-known Ash‘arī commentator, in his famous Commentary on the Holy Qur’ān and in his books on theology. It is also evident in the interpretations of Ibnu 'l-Jawzī and Taqiyyu 'd-Dīn al-Ḥiṣnī, in their two books on religion mentioned previously. A study of these interpretations should provide the strongest proof of what we have said.

The situation with Imāmī *ḥadīth* was the opposite of this. The *ḥadīth* on Unicity are cited in the *Kitābu 't-Tawḥīd* in al-Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī*, the Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq's *Kitābu 't-Tawḥīd*, and the *Kitābu 't-Tawḥīd wa 'l-‘adl* from the well-known encyclopaedia of *ḥadīth*, the ‘Allāmah al-Majlisī's *Biḥāru 'l-anwār*. The latter contains all that was passed down in the Imāmī sources, whether it was firmly established or incompletely transmitted, whether its chain of authority was correct or incorrect, and is to be found in the modern edition in six sections (vols.3-8). Whoever refers to them will find them without equal, for they are replete with sound *ḥadīth*, one after the other, complete, and meaningful, which clearly prove the refutation of anthropomorphism, corporealism, and determinism, and which specifically prove the majority of what the Imāmiyyah believe regarding Unicity and Justice, along with that which they share with other Muslims. For this reason, al-Kulaynī and aṣ-Ṣadūq did not find any difficulty in demonstrating the falsity of these doctrines, except in the fact that they had to choose from an enormous number of *ḥadīth*, which plainly and clearly demonstrated it.

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On top of all this, there is what the Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq pointed out in the opening of the *Kitãbu 't-Tawḥīd*, when he said:

> What led me to write my book was that I found people among those who opposed us attributing the doctrines of anthropomorphism and determinism to our group, since they found information in their books of whose explanation they were ignorant or whose meaning they did not understand, and which they took out of context and failed to compare word by word with the Qur'ãn [to see if it concurred with the holy Qur'ãn in word and meaning, for if the holy Qur'ãn substantiated anthropomorphism and determinism, then it was proof, and if they did not speak of a proof for this in the Qur'ãn why did they speak of its proof in *ḥadīth*]. In this way they denounced our school before the ignorant, obscured our path for them, diverted people from the religion of Allãh, and prompted them to reject the proofs of Allãh. I have sought favour with Allãh in writing this book on Unicity and on the refutation of anthropomorphism and determinism . . .[43]

The essence of the discussion is that the Imãmiyyah studied their beliefs in light of the *ḥadīth* passed down from the Imãms, peace be upon them, and that this study clearly revealed that what they believed derived from these *ḥadīth*, and that the contents of the *ḥadīth* were consistent whether they had been narrated on the authority of the first Imãm, the Commander of the Faithful, peace be upon him, or from the eleventh Imãm, or the Awaited Proof, peace be upon them, for example. The reason for this is that after having professed belief in the Imãmate and sworn obediance to the Imãms, peace be upon them, as I previously noted regarding the meaning of the Imãmate among the Imãmiyyah, they took their beliefs from them, just as they took their laws. A study of the two books *I'tiqãdãtu 'l-*

[43] *at-Tawḥīd*, Maktabatu 'ṣ-Ṣadūq, Tehran, 1387, p.17-18.

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Imãmiyyah by aṣ-Ṣadūq and *Taṣḥīḥu 'l-i‘tiqãd* by al-Mufīd suffices to uphold this view, especially since aṣ-Ṣadūq's book is no more than a compilation of the contents of *ḥadīth* and Qur’ãnic verses employing the same words and phrases as we have mentioned previously.

I shall not dwell on the idea that the Imãmiyyah drew on the Mu‘tazilah and were influenced by them in the beliefs they concurred upon except to say that it is a baseless falsehood without a speck of truth in it, and without any support from the study of the beliefs of the Imãmiyyah and the foundations upon which these beliefs are based. The question, which deserves attention, is whether anyone apart from the Imãmiyyah took their beliefs from the Imãms. I shall not attempt to look into this aspect here; it is enough to point out that al-Ka‘bī al-Balkhī, the Qãḍī ‘Abdu 'l-Jabbãr, Ibnu 'l-Murtaḍã, and Nashwãn al-Ḥimyarī trace the origin of the Mu‘tazilah School, with respect to Justice and Unicity, to the Commander of the Faithful, peace be upon him.[44]

adh-Dhahabī said: "Zurqãn [the famous Mu‘tazilī *mutakallim*] said: 'Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-‘Allãf narrated to us: "I have taken what I believe concerning Justice and Oneness from ‘Uthmãn aṭ-Ṭawīl, and he informed me that he took it from Wãṣil ibn ‘Aṭã’, who took it from ‘Abdullãh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, who took it from his father, who took it from his father ‘Alī, who took it from the Messenger of Allãh, may Allãh bless him [and his family] and grant [them] peace, who narrated that Gabriel came down with it from Allãh, the Sublime."' Several people have narrated this from Zurqãn."[45]

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[44] al-Balkhī, *Dhikru 'l-Mu‘tazilah*, p.64; a1-Qãḍī ‘Abdu 'l-Jabbãr, *Faḍlu 'l-i‘tizãl wa dhikru 'l-Mu‘tazilah*, pp.146-7, 150, 163, 214-5; Ibnu 'l-Murtaḍã, *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, pp.26-27, 125-8; *al-Baḥru 'z-zakhkhãr*, vol.1, p.44; Nashwãn al-Ḥimyarī, *Ḥūru 'l-‘īyn*, p.206.

[45] *Siyar a‘lãmi 'n-nubalã’*, vol.13, p.149.

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It must be pointed out that if something is found in *I'tiqãdãtu 'l-Imãmiyyah* which al-Mufīd did not comment on or which he affirmed, which he objected to or did not accept, or with the proof of which, as given by aṣ-Ṣadūq, he was not satisfied, it is not consequently established that other Imãmī scholars agreed with either or both of them, deemed their proofs correct, agreed with the demonstrations of their opinions, or accepted al-Mufīd's objections. Naturally, this aspect of the two books is restricted to the details of what is mentioned in them, not to the fundamental beliefs, which all the Imãmiyyah are agreed upon.

13
THE NATURE OF IMÃMĪ TRADITIONS REJECTS CORPOREALISM AND ANTHROPOMORPHISM

One example, which I shall cite, of the hundreds of examples, which demonstrate the nature of Imãmī *ḥadīth* and their insistence that no inclination towards corporealism and anthropomorphism or determinism should find a place in the soul of anyone who believes in them, is what was narrated on the authority of the Commander of the Faithful, peace be upon him, in the words of one of his famous speeches.

This is the speech mentioned by ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī (359/970–406/1015) in *Nahju 'l-Balãghah*, and which was narrated by the Imãmī Traditionists who came before him. The Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq (*c* 306/919–381/991) transmitted, and partially commented upon, a large section from the beginning of this sermon in his *Kitãbu 't-Tawḥīd*,[46] though this differs somewhat in wording from the versions in *Nahju 'l-Balãghah*, and *al-Biḥãr*.[47]

[46] Maktabatu 'ṣ-Ṣadūq, Tehran, 1387, pp.48-56.
[47] Vol.4, pp.274-84.

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Abu 'n-Naḍr Muḥammad ibn Mas'ūd as-Sulamī al-'Ayyāshī (d. *c* 320/932) also narrated it, and extracted a portion of it in his *Tafsīr*,[48] and this is narrated in *al-Biḥār*,[49] and in the *Tafsīru 'l-burhān*.[50] All of them traced the chain of authority from themselves back to Mas'adah ibn Ṣadaqah, who narrated it on the authority of the Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, and on the authority of his father, peace be upon them both. This person is Abū Muḥammad, Mas'adah ibn Ṣadaqah al-'Abdī, a follower of aṣ-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim, peace be upon them both, who wrote *Kitāb Khuṭab Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'alayhi 's-salām*.[51] Zaydī Traditionists such as Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥasanī, an-Nāṭiq bi 'l-Ḥaqq, the Zaydī *imām* (340/952–424/1033), narrated it with another chain of authority ending with Zayd ibn Aslam,[52] who narrated it directly from the Commander of the Faithful, peace be upon him. His wording is close to that of aṣ-Ṣadūq, although the chain of authority differs. The author of *Taysīru 'l-maṭālib fī amāli 'l-Imām Abī Ṭālib*[53] cites a large portion of it, as does Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Rabbih al-Qurṭubī al-Mālikī (246/860–328/940) in his *al-'Iqdu 'l-farīd*.[54]

The Commander of the Faithful, peace be upon him,

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[48] Vol.1, p.163, no.5.

[49] Vol.3, p.257.

[50] Vol.1, p.271, no.12.

[51] an-Najāshī, p.259, *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, p.87; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.7, p.191, no.972.

[52] This would appear to be a scribal error, the true person being Zayd ibn Wahb al-Jahni (d. 96/715), one of the greatest of the Followers of the Companions of the Prophet, and one of the followers of the Imām 'Alī, who wrote a *Kitāb Khuṭab Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'alayhi 's-salām 'ala 'l-manābir fi 'l-jum'ah wa 'l-a'yād wa ghayrihā*; see aṭ-Ṭūsī, a*l-Fihrist*, p.97; *Ma'ā1imu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.44; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.3, p.85; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.7, p.189. no.965.

[53] Mu'assasat al-A'lamī, Beirut, Lebanon, 1395/1975, pp.202-4.

[54] Board of Writing, Translation, and Publication, Cairo, 2nd ed., 1381/ 1962, vol.4, pp.152-4.

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delivered this sermon from the pulpit in Kūfah. A man said to him, while he was speaking: "Describe our Lord as we will see Him with our eyes . . ." and he became angry with him and summoned the community to prayer; and the people collected about him until the mosque was packed with his followers, and he said, among other things (according to the narration of ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī):

> I bear witness that whoever makes a likeness for You out of the disparate limbs of Your creation and the connection of the sockets of their joints which you have clothed in Your wisdom has not fixed the innermost part of his mind on knowledge of You, nor has certainty informed his heart that there is no equal to You. It is as if he had not heard the followers absolving themselves from those they [falsely] follow, saying: *By Allãh, we were in manifest error when we made you equal with the Lord of the worlds* (ash-Shu'arã', 26:97-98). The transgressors falsify You when they liken You to their idols, attribute to You with their imaginations the adornment of created things, divide You up in their minds according to the partition of bodies, and judge You by analogy with natural constitutions and their various powers through the talents of their intellects. I bear witness that whoever equates You with a thing of Your creation has put You on the same level with it, and that whoever does so is a disbeliever, according to that which has been revealed through the unambiguous among Your verses and that which the evidence of Your clear proof pronounces. For truly You are Allãh Who cannot be confined to the mind so as to be brought into conformity with the vicissitudes of its thinking, nor to the deliberation of its mental operations to be limited and subject to whims.[55]

[55] *Nahju 'l-Balãghah*, the commentary of Muḥammad 'Abduh and Muḥammad Muḥyi 'd-Dīn 'Abdu 'l-Ḥamid, al-Istiqãmah Press, Cairo, vol.1, pp.

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I do not wish to comment on this section of the sermon, in which the Imãm pointed out the reasons for the occurance of anthropomorphism and corporealism among the Imãmiyyah in its early days, 'when they liken You to their idols . . .' However, I will say that someone who believes that these words, and others from the *ḥadīth* of the *Ahlu 'l-Bayt*, are from an infallible Imãm who commands an obedience not unlike that of the Messenger of Allãh, peace be upon him and his progeny, (and I have already demonstrated the belief of the Imãmiyyah in the Imãmate and the Imãm) would hardly be naturally inclined (except in abnormal circumstances) to speak about anthropomorphism or corporealism except in an unknowing way. The Qãḍī ‘Abdu 'l-Jabbãr al-Mu‘tazilī ash-Shãfi‘ī said:

> As for the Commander of the Faithful, peace be upon him, his sermons declaring the refutation of anthropomorphism and upholding Justice are more than can be counted . . .[56]

He also stated:

> If you look at the sermons of the Commander of the Faithful, you will find them replete with refutations of the visibility of Allãh.[57]

14
ANTI-IMÃMĪ SCHOLARS REVERSE THE REALITY

Whatever the case may be, the accusation was raised against the Imãmiyyah by their adversaries that the Imãmiyyah, in their formative days and during the times that immediately followed, limited themselves and their beliefs within the literally prescribed boundaries of the Holy Qur’ãn and the *Sunnah*, and did

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163-4; see also *al-Biḥãr*, vol.77, p.318, and the commentary of Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, vol.6, pp.413-5.

[56] *Faḍlu 'l-i‘tizãl wa dhikru 'l-Mu‘tazilah*, p.163.

[57] *Sharḥu 'l-uṣūli 'l-khamsah*, p.268.

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not cross over into intellectual fields by relying on reason as a basis for explaining the faith and its directives, or resorting to it in demonstrating the truth, rejecting the objections of its enemies, and showing the falsity of their proofs.

However, the adversaries of the Imãmiyyah did not stop at that; rather, they went on to accuse the Imãmiyyah of being, before their joining the Mu'tazilah:

1. Clear proponents of anthropomorphism and corporealism;
2. Not upholders of Justice as a religious principle having special attributes and requirements;
3. Unaware of the precise differences and theoretical discussions pertaining to Unicity and Justice – which I pointed out in a general way during the discussion about the beliefs of the Imãmiyyah – and unaware of the difference between Attributes of Essence and Attributes of Action, for example, since they had not yet resorted to intellectual investigations which lead to the clarification of these critical fundamentals and the establishment of these particulars;
4. And upholders, even fierce upholders, of predestination.

Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Khayyãṭ al-Mu'tazilī stated:

> As for the totality of the teaching of the Rãfiḍah, it is: that Allãh has a physique, an image, and a limit; He is in motion and at rest, draws near and moves away, is lightened and weighed down . . . This is Rãfiḍī Unicity in its entirety, save for a small group of them who associated with the Mu'tazilah and believed in Unicity, . . . and these the Rãfiḍah expelled and washed their hands of. As for their *shaykh*s, like Hishãm ibn Sãlim, Shayṭãnu 'ṭ-Ṭãq, 'Alī ibn Maytham, Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam, 'Alī ibn Manṣūr, and as-Sakkãk, their belief is what I have related concerning them.[58]

McDermott says, on the authority of Ibn Taymiyyah, that the

[58] *al-Intiṣãr wa 'r-radd 'alã Ibnu 'r-Rawandī al-mulḥid*, p.14.

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doctrine of Divine Justice was taken up by the later writers of the Imãmiyyah, like al-Mufīd (336/948–413/1022), al-Mūsawī (ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã [355/966–436/1044]), and al-Karãjikī (*c* 369/980–449/1057), and had little influence on their predecessors in the Imãmiyyah. On this basis, McDermott maintains that al-Khayyãṭ points to the presence of a minority connected with the Mu'tazilah and influenced by their beliefs, just as al-Ash'arī mentions in his writings. McDermott gives the Nawbakhtiyyīn, who existed around the end of the third century (the beginning of the tenth century AD) as an example.[59]

> al-Mufīd was heir to a double legacy: that of the early Imãmite theologians – notably the Nawbakhtīs, who were in contact with Mu'tazilite thought from the latter part of the third century of the Hijrah, and the traditionist school of Qum represented by Ibn Bãbūyah al-Qummī [aṣ-Ṣadūq].[60]

But a disciple of Ibn Taymiyyah, Shamsu 'd-Dīn adh-Dhahabī (673/1274–748/1348) anticipated what his colleague narrated, and said:

> Since the end of the year 370 [980] up to our own time the Rãfiḍah and the Mu'tazilah have befriended each other like brothers.[61]

However Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalãnī does not accept this definition of history, and states:

> It is not as he says, but rather they ceased being brothers from the time of al-Ma'mūn (the 'Abbãsid caliph [170/786 – caliph 198/813 – d. 218/833]),[62]

I shall pass over all these remarks, and concern myself only with the examination of what they are founded upon. It all goes

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[59] *The Theology of ash-Shaikh al-Mufīd*, pp.2-3.
[60] *Ibid.*, p.395.
[61] *Mīzãnu 'l-i'tidãl*, vol.3, p.149.
[62] *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.4, p.248.

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back to what these adversaries related on the authority of some of the Imãmī scholars, and the predecessors of their Traditionists and theologians, like those al-Khayyãṭ names, concerning the doctrine of blatant corporealism and anthropomorphism, and how they wound up on the brink of idiocy and obscenity.

In doing so I am motivated by the endeavour to uncover the truth, and more importantly, by my belief in Islam and what it enjoins upon faithful Muslims who heed words when they are spoken, who listen to all sides of the story and then pick the best, who judge fairly and without personal bias, who speak the truth even when it goes against them, and adhere to the word of Allãh: *O you who believe! Be steadfast witnesses to Allãh in equity, and do not allow hatred for any people to seduce you, and cause you to act unjustly. Act justly, for that is closer to your duty. Be dutiful to Allãh, for Allãh is informed of what you do* (al-Mdãidah, 5:8). Faithful to all this, I shall examine some of these charges in a general way via a study restricted to the two Hishãms, Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam and Hishãm ibn Sãlim. I shall not venture beyond them, and on the results of this inquiry about them judge others who are like them.

* * * * *

Before beginning, however, I shall summarize the main points:

i) By its very nature, Imãmī *ḥadīth* can only accept that those who believe in them must follow those propositions upon which the Imãmiyyah are generally agreed, and the later Imãmiyyah were here only following previous generations. These generally agreed positions have been previously pointed out in summary form.

ii) Unlike the situation with the Imãmiyyah, there occured a split among the non-Imãmīs into those who submitted to the *ḥadīth* which reached them, and who accepted them without any commentary or interpretation, and out of which those who were

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called the *muḥaddithūn* developed; and into those who did not accept them absolutely, such as the Mu'tazilah, whether we accept the accusation by their opponents that they were unbelievers in the *sunnah*, or accept that, as they themselves said, they were unbelievers in those *ḥadīth* that were fabricated – because they did not accord with their beliefs – and that they interpreted other *ḥadīth* to accord with their beliefs. Between these two camps there arose a bitter controversy, with accusations of heresy and going beyond the bounds of religion, even sometimes reaching physical confrontation. However, this kind of dispute never arose among the Imāmiyyah at all, not even to the smallest degree. This has already been attributed to the fact that Imāmī *ḥadīth* did not give rise to such splits, and clearly demonstrated Imāmī beliefs so that such a split could not occur.

iii) We have already pointed out that the *kalām* school among the non-Imāmīs is really represented by the Mu'tazilites, not the Ash'arites. Investigation reveals that the latter had as their aim to harmonize the intellectual procedures of the Mu'tazilī school with the beliefs of the *muḥaddithūn*. They did have recourse to investigation, though this was not a position sanc-tioned by their *ḥadīth*, and they found nothing in the *sunnah* to authorize their interpretation and which could support their claim to be interpreting the *sunnah* by the *sunnah*. They were obliged not to reject the *sunnah* so that they would not be accused of depending solely on interpretation as the Mu'tazilah were.

iv) The Imāmiyyah did not blindly follow the Mu'tazilah in those opinions on which they agreed, but were only following their Imāms in these beliefs. The Imāms preceded the Mu'tazilah both historically and in status, and so one cannot say that they were taught by them.

v) The Mu'tazilah themselves agreed that they took their basic positions – *tawḥīd* and *'aql* – from Amīr al-Mu'minīn, 'Alī ibn

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Abī Ṭãlib, peace be upon him, through *isnãd* which were trustworthy for them; and 'Alī, peace be upon him, was the first of the Shī'ī Imãms. The Imãmiyyah paid more attention to the evidence of his teachings than did the Mu'tazilah, and we have already given an example of this. So, if it is incorrect to say that the Mu'tazilah borrowed from the Imãmiyyah, surely it is, in fact, all the more incorrect to say that the Imãmiyyah bor-rowed from them.

15
HISHÃM IBN AL-ḤAKAM: SOME ASPECTS OF HIS PERSONALITY

Abū Muḥammad, Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam al-Kindī (their client) al-Kūfī, then al-Baghdãdī (*c* 105/723–189/805), *shaykh* of the Imãmī theologians and their leader, was born in Kūfah, and grew up in Wãsiṭ – both cities in Iraq – and then returned to Kūfah and lived there. He had a business there, and one in Baghdad, and then he moved to Baghdad in the year 179/796, and lived there without interruption. Hishãm met the Imãms aṣ-Ṣãdiq and al-Kãẓim, peace be upon them, and outlived al-Kãẓim, but was unable to meet ar-Riḍã, peace be upon them. The scholars of the Imãmiyyah said of him: "He was a trustworthy source of *ḥadīth*, of excellent scholarship in his school, a *faqīh*, and a theologian, . . . well versed in the art of theology, ready to answer. Praises of him are related on the authority of the Imãms aṣ-Ṣãdiq, al-Kãẓim, ar-Riḍã, and al-Jawãd, peace be upon them, . . . and they extolled him with abundant commendations."[63] Ibnu 'n-Nadīm described him similarly.[64]

[63] al-Mufīd, *al-Fuṣūlu 'l-mukhtãrah*, vol.1, p.28; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.203-4; an-Najãshī, pp.304-5; Ibn Shahrãshūb, *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.115; al-'Allãmah al-Ḥillī, *Khulãṣatu 'l-aqwãl*, p.178; and concerning the authority

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The Shaykh al-Mufīd said: "Of his rank and stature, it was reported by Abū 'Abdillāh Ja'far ibn Muḥammad, peace be upon them, that he came to him in Minã while he was a boy, his beard just beginning to grow. There were Shī'ī *shaykh*s like Ḥumrãn ibn A'yan, Qays al-Mãṣir, Yūnus ibn Ya'qūb, Abū Ja'far al-Aḥwal [Mu'minu 'ṭ-Ṭãq], and Hishãm ibn Sãlim in his company, and he elevated him above all of them. All the others were older than him, and when Abū 'Abdillãh, peace be upon him, noticed what he had done was unbearable to his follow-ers, he said: 'He assists us with his heart, his tongue, and his hand.'" [65]

Ibn Shahrãshūb states the equivalent and adds:

> [aṣ-Ṣãdiq], peace be upon him, said: 'Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam is a pioneer of our truth, the driving force of our doctrine, the bulwark of our sincerity, the defender against the falsehood of our enemies; he who follows him follows us, and he who is opposed to him and deviates from him is our enemy and deviates from us.'[66]

Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam was a theologian, strong in theology, proficient in argument and debate, quick-witted, with a strong memory, a deep knowledge, extensive education, multi-faceted, highly active and a competitor in debate. He was in contact with all those who developed opinions and were theologians of Muslim and non-Muslim sects; he argued with them, discussed with them, and moreover, befriended them, to the point where he set an example with his friendship and friendliness towards who-ever befriended him, even if their views were opposed to his.

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of all those who wrote biographies of him, see: *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.19, p.331.

[64] *al-Fihrist*, pp.203-4.

[65] *al-Fuṣūlu 'l-mukhtãrah*, vol.1, p.28; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.10, pp.295-6; see the *ḥadīth* in *al-Kãfī*, vol.l, pp.171-3, nos.433/4, and in many other sources of *ḥadīth*.

[66] *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.115; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.19, p.334.

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This aspect of the character of Hishām is of vital importance in understanding his personality. One of the people he befriended, and for whom his friendship set an example, was 'Abdullāh ibn Yazīd al-Fazārī al-Kūfī, the Ibāḍī theologian. He and his followers were of the Khārijī sect, which came closest to the Ahlu 's-Sunnah.[67] The Ibāḍiyyah were a Khārijī sect who took their teachings from them.[68] He was one of the greatest Khārijī theologians and writers; they cite his books as: *Kitābu 't-Tawḥīd*, *Kitāb 'ala 'l-Mu'tazilah*, and *Kitābu 'r-radd 'ala 'r-Rāfiḍah*.[69]

'Abdullāh ibn Yazīd al-Ibāḍī was one of the best friends of Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, and was a business partner with him.[70]

al-Jāḥiẓ makes them out to have been the best of opponents, between whom there was no severity, no harshness, and no enmity, . . . and they ended up as companions after associating and sharing company . . .They were improved in their adver-sity by what came of their cooperation in all their trading.[71]

'Abdullāh ibn Yazīd al-Ibāḍī was in Kūfah, where his companions debated with him and learned from him. He was a cobbler in partnership with Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, who was his senior . . . and his Rāfiḍī companions debated with him and learned from him. Both of them were in the same shop, as we say of opposition in schools of at-Tasharrī [the belief of ash-Shurāt, i.e. the Khawārij] and ar-Rafḍ. There never passed between them any abuse or offense, as knowledge, the judgement of reason, the requirements of the religious law, and the

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[67] Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, vol.2, p.112.

[68] Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.3, p.378.

[69] al-Ash'arī, *Maqālatu 'l-Islāmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.186; Ibnu 'n-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, p.233; ash-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, p.137; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ārifīn*, vol.1, p.446.

[70] *Kamālu 'd-dīn*, vol.2, p.363; *al-Biḥār*, vol.48, p.198.

[71] al-Jāḥiz, *al-Bayān wa 't-tabyīn*, vol.l, pp.46-47; ar-Rāghib, *Muḥāḍarātu 'l-udabā'*, vol.2, p.7.

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rules of debate and procedure require.[72]

This special characteristic of Hisham induced most of those who differed with him in belief to associate with him immediately, since those connected with him were not exposed to dangers, nor did they fear any discourtesy or betrayal from him, or any infringement of companionable behaviour or the proprities of debate. Ibn Qutaybah relates:

> A heretic came to Hishām, and said to him: 'I will say two things: I am aware of your impartiality and I am not afraid of your dissention.' Then he began to dispute with him, and Hishām interrupted him quickly, and gave him a satisfactory answer.[73]

What we have presented about the character of Hishām demands that we reinterpret the relationship of Abū Shākir ad-Dayṣānī – a renowned atheist – with Hishām to one of friendship and companionship between them based on a relationship of controversy, inquiry, and discussion of their differences of opinion and belief. Perhaps Abū Shākir asked him to seek permission for him to visit the Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him,[74] and perhaps they quarrelled, and the discussion wound up at a point where Hishām no longer had an answer, as Hishām tells us, when he says that he met with aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, in Madīnah, and learnt the answer from him, and then met Abū Shākir in Kūfah and told it to him, and the latter said: "This came from the Ḥijāz."[75]

Nevertheless, this high character was transformed by his adversaries into slander and defamation. al-Khayyāṭ says, in reply to those who accused the Mu'tazilah of taking some of their ideas from ad-Dayṣānī:

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[72] *Murūju 'dh-dhahab*, Paris offset, vo1.5, pp.443-11.
[73] *'Uyūnu 'l-akhbār*, vol.2, p.154.
[74] *at-Tawḥīd*, p.290; *al-Biḥār*, vol.3, p.50.
[75] *al-Kāfī*, vol.1, pp.128-9, nos.266/9; *at-Tawḥīd*, p.133.

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> Rather, the one accused of the doctrine of the Dayṣāniyyah is the *shaykh* of the Rāfiḍah, their scholar, Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, a known companion of Abū Shākir ad-Dayṣānī . . .[76]

16
HIS THEOLOGICAL PERSONALITY AND INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITIES

Hishām's connections with theologians and leaders of sects increased after he took over leadership of the Barmakid debating group. After the caliph Hārūn arrested the Imām Mūsā ibn Ja'far in the year 179/795, Hishām was forced to emigrate to Baghdad for an indefinite time and to take refuge with Yaḥyā ibn Khālid al-Barmakī (120/738–190/805), the famous 'Abbāsid minister, and seek his protection. He eventually became, as the biographers state, 'devoted to Yaḥyā ibn Khālid al-Barmakī, and led his sessions in theology and inquiry.'[77]

> Yaḥyā ibn Khālid had a *majlis* in his home, which was attended by theologians from all the religious sects and creeds on Sunday, and they argued with one another about their beliefs, and raised objections against each other.[78]

It was natural that this theological debating group, which convened weekly in the presence of the most powerful man in the state after the Caliph, should have been organized and presided over by Hishām. This is the meaning of their statement 'and he led his sessions in theology and inquiry.' It enabled him to come into contact with the majority of those whose normal circumstances would not have permitted them to meet a

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[76] *al-Intiṣār wa 'r-radd 'alā Ibni 'r-Rawandī al-mulḥid*, p.37.

[77] aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.204; Ibnu 'n-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, pp.223, 224; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, p.233; *Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.6, p.194.

[78] *Kamālu 'd-dīn*, vol.2, p.362; *al-Biḥār*, vol.48, p.179.

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distinguished theologian like Hishām, who would listen to their views and arguments, let them debate with one another, and then supervise the procedure of inquiry, and evaluate the arguments and give the correct view. al-Mas'ūdī tells of one such session:

> Yaḥyā ibn Khālid ibn Barmak, a man of knowledge and discernment, and upholder of discussion and the giving of opinion, used to bring together many discussants and holders of opinion from the *mutakallim*s of Islam and other thinkers and sectarians. Yaḥyā said to them one day when they had gathered at his house: 'You have had many discussions about latency (*kumūn*), manifestation (*ẓuhūr*), and eternity and beginning in time (*al-qadam wa 'l-ḥudūth*), refutation and assertion, motion and rest, conjunction and separation, existence and non-existence, bodies and accidents (*jism wa 'araḍ*), confirming and refuting, denying and affirming God's attributes, capacity and action, substance, quantity, quality, relation, generation and corruption. [You have discussed] whether the Imāmate is by divine delegation (*naṣṣ*) or by election (*ikhtiyār*), and the rest of the things brought up in *kalām* in its principles and derived matters. So now start your discussions about love.'

There are similar descriptions of many subjects of discussion, and then Mas'ūdī mentions the names of those who participated: "'Alī ibn al-Haytham who was an Imāmī among the famous Shī'ī *mutakallim*s." He is the first that he mentions, and the second is "Abū Mālik al-Ḥaḍramī, who was a Khārijite", but this person was an Imāmī *mutakallim*.[79] The third person is "Muḥammad ibn al-Hudhayl al-'Allāf, who was the leader of the Baṣran Mu'tazilah", and the fourth is "Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam al-Kūfī, the leader of the Imāmiyyah in his time, a master of the science [of *kalām*] in his age." The fifth is

[79] See *Uṣūlu 'l-Kāfī*, "Kitābu 't-Tawḥīd", Introduction, no.19.

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"Ibrãhīm ibn Sayyãr an-Naẓẓãm, a Mu‘tazilī who was one of those who held opinions among the Baṣrans of his age". The sixth is "‘Alī ibn Manṣūr, an Imãmī who was one of those Shī‘ī who held opinions, and was a companion of Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam." The seventh is "Mu‘tamir ibn Sulaymãn, a Mu‘tazilī, one of the leaders whom they followed." The eighth is "Bishr ibn al-Mu‘tamir, a Mu‘tazilī, the leader of the Baghdãdīs, the teacher of those who held opinions and were *mutakallim*s among them, like Ja‘far ibn Ḥarb, Ja‘far ibn Mubashshir [in Maynard's edition: Muntashshir], and other *mutakallim*s of Baghdad." The ninth is "Thumãmah ibn Ashras, a Mu‘tazilī." The tenth is "as-Sakkãl [read: Sakkãk], an Imãmī, and a com-panion of Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam." And more are mentioned.[80]

I will restrict myself here to pointing out specifically those Mu‘tazilīs who mentioned that Hishãm met with them, and not others.

1. Abū ‘Uthmãn, ‘Amr ibn ‘Ubayd at-Taymī al-Baṣrī (80/699–144/761), the second of the two pioneers and propagandists of the Mu‘tazilah. Hishãm met him in the mosque at Baṣrah, and disputed with him on the subject of the Imãmate. The victory in this dispute went to Hishãm who 'ripped him apart', as they put it.[81]

2. ‘Abdu 'r-Raḥmãn ibn Kaysãn, Abū Bakr al-Aṣam al-Baṣrī (d. 200/816), a distinguished Mu‘tazilī, who held a high position among them. But al-Aṣam was a *nãṣibī* Mu‘tazilī who detested the Commander of the Faithful, peace be upon him: 'and he rejected his Imãmate',[82] 'and in him there was a hatred of ‘Alī,

[80] *Murūju 'dh-dhahab*, *Livre des prairies d'or*, vol.6, pp.368-76, Beirut ed., vol.3, pp.370-2.

[81] *al-Kãfī*, vol.1, pp.169-71, nos.432/3; al-Kishshī, pp.271-3; al-Murtaḍã, *al-Amãlī*, vol.1, pp.176-7; al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūju 'dh-dhahab*, Paris edition, vol.7, pp.234-6; and many other sources.

[82] ash-Shahristãnī, vo1.1, p.31.

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the Commander of the Faithful, peace be upon him, and for this reason he is disgraced.[83] His motives in rejecting ‘Alī's Imãmate – he meant that ‘Alī was not the fourth caliph, not that he was not the *imãm* in the Imãmī sense of the term[84] – and in holding his opinion about who had murdered ‘Alī[85] demonstrate his hostile attitude towards him. 'Regarding ‘Alī and Mu‘ãwiyah, he maintained beliefs, which placed Mu‘ãwiyah in a better position than ‘Alī.'[86] al-Qãḍī ‘Abdu 'l-Jabbãr al-Mu‘tazilī and Ibnu 'l-Murtaḍã az-Zaydī state that 'what our followers detest about him . . . is his aversion to ‘Alī, peace be upon him.' From Ibnu 'l-Murtaḍã: 'He displayed a great preju-dice against the Commander of the Faithful, and, our followers say, he was put to the test in an argument with Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam, and he exaggerated this and that.'[87] To understand his stance concerning the Imãmate of the Commander of the Faithful, peace be upon him, one would have to consult what is contained in Bishr ibn al-Mu‘tamar (d. 210/825), a distinguished Mu‘tazilī: *Kitãbu 'r-radd ‘ala 'l-Aṣam fi 'l-imãmah*, and al-Aṣam: *Kitãbu 'r-radd ‘alã Hishãm fi 't-tashbīh* and *Kitãbu 'l-jãmi‘ ‘ala 'r-Rãfiḍah*.[88] Regarding someone who is overcome with adversity and stubbornness to the point where what he says about ‘Alī, peace be upon him, is not approved of by his co-sectarians, should one suppose that he would stick to truth and fairness in what he says about Hishãm and the Rãfiḍah?

3. Muḥammad ibn al-Hudhayl al-‘Abdī, their client, Abu 'l-

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[83] Ibnu 'n-Nadīm, p.214.

[84] *Maqãlãtu 'l-Islãmiyyīn*, vol.2, p.133; ash-Shahristãnī, vol.1, pp.31, 72-73.

[85] *Maqãlãtu 'l-Islãmiyyīn*, vol.2, pp.130-1.

[86] al-Baghdãdī, *Uṣūlu 'd-dīn*, pp.270, 287, 291.

[87] al-Qãḍī ‘Abdu 'l-Jabbãr, *Faḍlu 'l-i‘tizãl wa ṭabaqãti 'l-Mu‘tazilah*, p.267; Ibnu 'l-Murtaḍã, *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.156. The only explanation I can find for these words is that the escalation of enmity between them forced each of them to exaggerate their opinion and forsake his school.

[88] See, respectively, Ibnu 'n-Nadīm, pp.185 and 214.

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Hudhayl al-‘Allãf al-Baṣrī (135/753–235/850). ash-Shahristānī said:

> Debates between [Hishãm] and Abu 'l-Hudhayl took place on theology, some of them concerned anthropomorphism, and some the attachment of God's knowledge.[89]

al-Mas‘ūdī recounts one of the discussions, and says at the end of it: "Abu 'l-Hudhayl fell silent, and did not come forth with an answer."[90] But Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī distorted the words of al-Mas‘ūdī – and I would be surprised if it were unintentional – when he said in his biography of Abu 'l-Hudhayl: "al-Mas‘ūdī mentions an argument between him and Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam, the Rãfiḍī, and that Abu 'l-Hudhayl defeated Hishãm in it."[91]

4. Ibrãhīm ibn Sayyãr, Abū Isḥãq an-Naẓẓãm al-Baṣrī (*c* 160/776–231/845). His Mu‘tazilī biographers say: "When an-Naẓẓãm had left for *ḥajj*, on his return he set out for Kūfah, where he met Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam and others, and they discussed the fine points of theology."[92]

The history of this meeting leaves no doubt that it took place prior to the year 179/796, in which Hishãm emigrated from Kūfah to Baghdad and took up residence there. an-Naẓẓãm was then not more than twenty, and, if the story is true, no doubt he wanted to discuss questions and controversies along the lines of those, which pass between a teacher and a student. The young an-Naẓẓãm, when he met Hishãm, questioned him on the fine points of theology, and this is proof of an-Naẓẓãm's intelli-

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[89] *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, pp.30, 184.

[90] *Murūju 'dh-dhahab*, vol.7, pp.232-3.

[91] *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.5, p.414.

[92] al-Qāḍī ‘Abdu 'l-Jabbãr, *Faḍlu 'l-i‘tizãl wa dhikru 'l-Mu‘tazilah*, p.254; Ibnu 'l-Murtaḍã, *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.149; Dr. ‘Abdu 'r-Raḥmãn Badawī, *Madhãhibu 'l-Is1ãmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.127, but he has misunderstood the words of Ibnu 'l-Murtaḍã which he has quoted.

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gence and his ability to deduce questions on theological details and his understanding of the complicated answers given by prominent theologians like Hishām and others. Perhaps one of these discussions is what al-Maqdīsī relates,[93] that is, that it was not a discussion or argument in the precise meaning of these words, but rather that an-Naẓẓām only put forth questions as any student would, and, moreover, did not raise objections concerning what he heard, except at the level of a student questioning a teacher, and that Hishām answered, without receiving any objections or arguments.

Nevertheless, an argument took place between him and Hishām surrounding the immortality of the People of Paradise (*ahlu 'l-jannah*) in Paradise, and the everlasting nature of their felicity, since an-Naẓẓām denied this; and Hishām defeated him in it.[94]

However, what I must point out is that Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam was not a master of philosophical ideas, especially those of the Greeks, which had recently reached the Islamic lands, and which aroused great concern among those on whom authority and power had been conferred, especially the Barmakids and after them those who continued the 'Abbāsid caliphate. The biographers of Hishām relate that Yaḥyā al-Barmakī loved Hishām, sheltered him as his own, and that his care for him knew no bounds, because 'Yaḥyā ibn Khālid al-Barmakī had enjoined Hishām to attack the philosophers . . .'[95] They say that this is one of the reasons which induced al-Barmakī to induce the caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd to support Hishām.[96]

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[93] *al-Bad' wa 't-tārīkh*, vol.2, pp.123-4.
[94] al-Kishshī, pp.274-5; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, p.228.
[95] al-Kishshī, p.258; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, p.218; *al-Biḥār*, vol.48, p.189.
[96] Hishām wrote a *Kitābu 'r-radd 'alā Arisṭāṭālīs fi 't-tawḥīd* (Refutation of Aristotle on Unicity); see aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.204; an-Najāshī, p.305; Ibnu 'n-Nadīm, p.224; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.115; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, pp.233, 234; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.183.

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His pupils inherited this trait of Hishām's after him. Indeed, we find in an index of books, which was written by the famous Imāmī theologian and scholar al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān al-Azdī an-Naysābūrī (*c* 195/811–260/873) books which refute the philosophers, and al-Faḍl traces their authorship back to the point where they reach Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam.[97]

17
THE MU'TAZILĪS WHOM HISHĀM MET AND THEIR DISCUSSIONS

I have been concerned with Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, and after him with Hishām ibn Sālim, only because adversaries of the Imāmiyyah made him the crack through which they attacked the Imāmiyyah with all their might, and directed at him, and through him at the Imāmiyyah, every possible defamation, derogation, and disparagement, prejudice and malediction. They attributed to him what was correct – albeit infrequently –and, more often, what was incorrect; and, moreover, they attributed contradictory opinions to him. The amazing thing about these adversaries is that we find enmity and hatred flung back and forwards between them since the birth of the sects they arose from up to our own day, may Allāh desire that it cease, for they are mutually antagonistic adversaries, one against the other, in the strongest sense of antagonism and adversity, all of them attributing to the other what a Muslim does not attribute to someone he holds to be a brother in the religion. Nevertheless, we find that enmity and adversity have united them against the Imāmiyyah in general and Hishām in particular, and so they befriend one another, and support one another.

[97] See the biography of al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān in the forward to the English translation of "Kitābu 't-Tawḥīd" of *al-Kāfī*.

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The hostility towards Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam originated from the Mu‘tazilah; they were the ones whom Hishām had opposed in argument, those who attributed to him what was attributed to them, as will be mentioned below. The adversaries of the Mu‘tazilah, people like ‘Abdu 'l-Qāhir al-Baghdādī, al-Malaṭī, Ibn Ḥazm, al-Isfarāyīnī, Ibn Taymiyyah, his colleague adh-Dhahabī, and his student Ibnu 'l-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Ḥajar accused them at the very least of extreme innovation and deceit; they did not trust them or what they narrated, they said of them that they had invented falsehoods and a new religion for themselves, and that they were not bound by the laws of the *sharī‘ah*, but rather overstepped them. This applied to many of them in general, and to many of the distinguished Mu‘tazilah in particular. They passed on to unbelief or atheism, and departed from the religious community who cursed them and washed their hands of them, but all of whom accepted what the Mu‘tazilah attributed to the Imāmiyyah and Hishām and theologians like him. They strayed from the religion except when they attacked the Imāmiyyah, and were feeble liars except when they attributed an infamy to the Imāmiyyah or spoke of them degradingly. I will not extend the discussion to what they said about Wāṣil ibn ‘Aṭā’, ‘Amr ibn ‘Ubayd, Abu 'l-Hudhayl, Thumāmah ibn Ashras, an-Naẓẓām, and others like them among the leading personalities of the Mu‘tazilah and their scholars. What is worse than this is that they followed and promoted the methods of their brothers-in-law the Mu‘tazilah, who were their adversaries in dogma, and distorted and changed, discarded and added, perfected – as they claim – what they found tacking in the Mu‘tazilī armoury, and patched up any weakness they stumbled on. I have quoted examples of this above, and a few more will follow. I do not intend in saying this that these observations should refute what they wrote about the characteristics of their masters – I have previously stated that I have given up

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this kind of hope. I have said what I have said by way of introduction to some of the ideas of Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam and the views attributed to him.

18
THE MU‘TAZILĪS FOUND FAULT WITH HISHĀM AND FABRICATED FALSE POSITIONS FOR HIM, THE ANTI-MU‘TAZILĪS AGREED WITH THEM HERE BUT NOT ALWAYS ELSEWHERE

I shall not be led here to speak in detail of every idea they attributed to Hishām; it is possible for the reader to refer to what I have said about Muqātil ibn Sulaymān and Dāwūd al-Jawāribī, which are clear examples of what they said about Hishām. I will be content here to clarify the points, which call upon us to refute an imputation like that, directed at Hishām.

Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam was, it is said, in the beginning, a Jahmī, a follower of Jahm ibn Ṣafwān (d. 128/745), and then renounced him after joining the Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, and his error had been made clear to him.[98]

Jahm ibn Ṣafwān, as is understood from his sect, was opposed to corporeality and anthropomorphism to the greatest extent; concerning the attributes of Allāh, his school was a Mu‘tazilah school when it first emerged. He was a contemporary of Wāṣil ibn ‘Aṭā’ and ‘Amr ibn ‘Ubayd, the two founders of the Mu‘tazilah, and they held nothing against him except the doctrine of the impermanence of Paradise and Hell and that felicity and chastisement were not eternal. They held against him his belief in *irjā’* (postponement of judgement about whether the grave sinner was a believer or an unbeliever), not

[98] al-Kishshī, pp.256-7; *Majma‘u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, pp.216-7; Ibnu 'n-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, al-Istiqāmah ed., Cairo, p.257 (Tajaddud ed., Tehran, [to which refernce is usually made] p.224), *al-Manāqib*, vol.4, p.244.

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the doctrine of *al-manzilah bayna 'l-manzilatayn* (the state of the sinner as intermediate between that of a believer and an unbeliever), which was their doctrine concerning the grave sinner.[99]

However, the principle point of difference between him and the Mu‘tazilah as a whole was his belief in predestination, and their belief in free will, since among the later Mu‘tazilah there were some who believed in *irjā'* and some who believed in the impermanence of Paradise and Hell. However all of them agreed on the doctrine of free will and refuted predestination. For this reason ash-Shahristānī counts him among those who 'emerged from the Mu‘tazilah in the days of Naṣr ibn Sayyār and made his innovation from the Mu‘tazilī position on predestination clear.'[100]

One of the views of Jahm, which influenced Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, was his statement about Allāh, praise be to Him: 'He is a body unlike [other] bodies', as will be shown. One of Jahm ibn Ṣafwān's doctrines, as al-Ash‘arī relates, was that he believed that 'Allāh is a body,' and went on to say that 'the meaning of "body" is "existent"'.[101] He says the same about Hishām. From this, he goes on to relate that he believed that 'God's knowledge is incipient: He did not know then He knew'[102] and that he had taken this also from Jahm.[103]

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[99] Ibnu 'l-Murtaḍā, *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, pp.23, 107; and see al-Balkhī, *Dhikru 'l-Mu‘tazilah*, p.67; al-Qāḍī ‘Abdu 'l-Jabbār, *Faḍlu 'l-i‘tizāl*, p.241.

[100] *al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, vol.1, p.32; see the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., vol.2, p.388, and the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p.83, and the references given in both of them.

[101] *Maqālātu 'l-Islāmiyyīn*, vol.l, p.269; vol.2, p.164.

[102] *al-Intiṣār*, pp.14, 50; *al-Fiṣal*, vol.2, p.126, & vol.4, p.182; *Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.6, p.194.

[103] ash-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, p.87; *Nihāyatu 'l-iqdām*, p.215; *al-Fiṣal*, vol.2, p.126; *al-Mu‘tamad fī uṣūli 'd-dīn*, p.45; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadid, vol.11, p.63.

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ash-Shahristānī compares 'Jahm and Hishām's assertion that knowledge (*‘ulūm*) is not in a location [with respect to Allāh, praise be to Him, because since they spoke of the incipience of His knowledge they made Him a locus for His knowledge, and this contradicts His eternity, which was their doctrine] with the Ash‘ariyyah's assertion that speech (*taklīm*) is not in a location.'[104]

It is mentioned that the famous Mu‘tazilī theologian Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib, al-Baṣrī, al-Ḥanafī (d. 436/1044) adopted Hishām's view regarding God's knowledge. ash-Shahristānī states: "He inclined towards the school of Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam concerning the belief that things were not known before they existed."[105]

But two other views are also reported on the authority of Hishām which contradict the aforesaid: 'The Creator never ceases to know through His Self, and He knows things after their coming into existence through a knowledge which cannot be said to be either incipient or eternal, and because it is an attribute and the attribute is not ascribed, it is not said about [this knowledge] that it is He or something else. They add that his belief about Power and Life was not like his belief in knowledge, except that he did not believe that they were incipient.'[106]

However, the Shaykh al-Mufīd denied the truth of associating this opinion with Hishām, and his words follow. What was attributed to Hishām was his belief in strong compulsion (*al-ijbāru 'sh-shadīd*), which the believers of the *sunnah* did not subscribe to, as Ibn Qutaybah states.[107]

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[104] *Nihāyatu 'l-iqdām*, p.245.
[105] *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, p.85; *Nihāyatu 'l-iqdām*, p.221.
[106] *Maqālātu 'l-Islāmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.268; ash-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, p.185; *al-Farq bayna 'l-firaq*, p.49; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, vol.3, p.219.
[107] *Ta'wīl mukhtalafi 'l-ḥadīth*, p.48; *Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.6, p.194.

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If this attribution is true and Hishãm followed Jahm in it, as stated above, then he was distinguished from his Mu'tazilī brothers by his belief in absolute predestination, and their belief in complete choice (*ikhtiyãr*, or *qadar* as their adversaries called it).

In the light of what has been said, what was attributed to Hishãm can be divided into two sections: (a) that which conforms with the beliefs of the Jahmiyyah who preceded him, and this is possibly a correct attribution as long as the narrations are correct, and these are the short examples I have quoted; and (b) the greater portion of what his adversaries attributed to him, and this does not accord with the beliefs of the Jahmiyyah before him, nor those of the Imãmiyyah after him; we have no alternative but to conclude that this was attributed to him calumniously and that it is true that Hishãm may have held a part of these beliefs (this is only supposition with no basis in fact), but that he did not believe them in earnest, as will be shown. It is necessary to point out that Hishãm's Jahmiyyah period was doubtless during his early adolescence, and, moreover, when he was still a juvenile, since when he became an adolescent and still 'the first thing I noticed was his bare cheeks', as has been stated, he did not believe outright in the Imãmate, but rather disputed about it and debated and argued with his adver-saries and critics about it. I think that it is closer to the truth, and more in line with the established facts of Hishãm's life and behaviour, that his connections with the Jahmiyyah were limited to following Jahm ibn Ṣafwãn and some of his ideas, which are the three examples I mentioned earlier which are not incompat-ible with the doctrine of the Imãmate, the requirements of its concommitants, and its defense, and did not involve an association with the Jahmiyyah sect in all its dimensions and extent. Hishãm was not for one day a Jahmī except to a limited extent; he did not follow them in all his ideas and beliefs.

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19
SOME OPINIONS INCORRECTLY ATTRIBUTED TO HISHÃM

Past and present scholars of the Imãmiyyah have investigated the ideas, which were attributed to Hishãm, and have defended him and refuted their attribution to him. All of these ideas are summarised with characteristic brevity in that which is cited by the Sharīf al-Murtaḍã, Abu 'l-Qãsim, ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, ‘Alamu 'l-Hudã, al-Mūsawī (355/966–436/1044), who said:

> [A]nd as for what Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam is charged with regarding belief in corporeality, the ostensive meaning of what is narrated from him is his doctrine: 'a body unlike bodies.' There is no contradiction in saying that this belief is not anthropomorphism, is not inconsistent with any basic principle (*aṣl*), does not oppose any derived doctrine (*far‘*), but is an error in expression [since by 'body' the 'existent' is intended, not the material body, as will be mentioned] which depends upon language for its affirmation or denial. Most of our followers say that he brought this up in the course of opposition to the Mu‘tazilah, and said to them: "If you say that the Eternal is a thing unlike things, say He is a body unlike bodies." Not everyone who proposes something and asks questions about it is a believer in it or upholds it. It is possible that the intention behind this statement was to draw out their answer to this question and to understand what they held regarding it, or to reveal their inadequacy in putting forward a satisfactory answer, or for other reasons, which he does not express.
>
> As for the narration that he upheld the view that Allãh is a body having the reality of apparent bodies (*al-ajsãmu 'l-ḥãḍirah*), and the report about the spans (*ashbãr*) of God's

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hand attributed to him,[108] we only know of it from the narration of al-Jãḥiẓ on the authority of an-Naẓẓãm, and it contains nothing but an accusation which is clearly unreliable in its expression. The whole matter is evidence that the schools must learn from the mouths of their spokesmen and authorized followers and whoever is reliable in narrating about them, and should not rely on propagandistic adversaries . . . That Hishãm was innocent of this accusation is demonstrated by what is related on the authority of the Imãm aṣ-Ṣãdiq, peace be upon him, in his statement: 'O Hishãm, continue to be supported by the Spirit of Holiness as long as you defend us with your tongue', spoken when the *shaykh*s came to him [this has been narrated from al-Mufīd], and by his words . . .[109] He, peace be upon him, marked him out in matters to do with speculation and proof and urged the people to hasten to face him and debate with him. How can an intelligent person believe this statement that his Lord is seven spans of His own span after what we have mentioned?

As for the incipience of [Divine] knowledge, this is another narration they circulated, and we do not know that the man wrote about it, nor that the account is trustworthy.

As for determinism and [God's] obliging [someone] to do what he is unable [to do], it is something about which we do not know whether it was his opinion.[110]

To these words of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã can be added a few

[108] Hishãm said of his Lord: "He is seven spans [the length] of His own span", this is mentioned in all the non-Imãmī sources (Ibnu 'l-Murtaḍã az-Zaydī al-Mu'tazilī reduces them by two and gives five spans): *al-Baḥru 'z-zakhkhãr*, vol.1, p.47; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.30.

[109] He mentions what was related from Ibn Shahrãshūb above in the first part of the biography of Hishãm.

[110] *ash-Shãfī*, vol.1, pp.83-88.

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comments condensed from more extensive discussions:

1. ash-Shahristãnī states:

> This Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam, who had a profound [knowledge] of theology, could not have ignored the objections he made against the Mu'tazilites. [This] man in fact went beyond what he made his adversary admit, while remaining well short of the anthropomorphism, which he professed. This was how he had objected to al-'Allãf: 'You say that the Creator knows through knowledge, that His knowledge is His essence, that He shares with incipient [created] things in being a knower through knowledge, that He is distinct from them in that His knowledge is His essence, so He is a knower unlike [other] knowers. So why do you not say that He is a body unlike [other] bodies, a form unlike [other] forms, that He has power unlike [any other] power, and so forth.'[111]

2. The biographers have cited more than thirty books and treatises, which Hishãm wrote. Those which are concerned with Unicity and its aspects are: (1) *Kitãbu 't-Tawḥīd*, (2) *Kitãbu 'l-majãlis fi 't-tawḥīd*, (3) *Kitãbu 'sh-Shaykh wa 'l-ghulãm fi 't-tawḥīd*, (4) *Kitãbu 'r-radd 'alã Ariṣṭāṭālīs fi 't-tawḥīd*, (5) *Kitãbu 'd-dalãlãt 'alã ḥadathi (ḥudūthi) 'l-ajsãm*, (6) *Kitãbu 'r-radd 'ala 'z-zanãdiqah*, (7) *Kitãbu 'r-radd 'alã aṣḥãbi 'l-ithnayn*, (8) *Kitãbu 'r-radd 'alã aṣḥãbi 'ṭ-ṭabãyi'*,[112] (9) *Kitãb fi 'l-jabr wa 'l-qadar*, (10) *Kitãbu 'l-Qadar*, (11) *Kitabu 'l-Istiṭã'ah*, (12)

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[111] *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, p.185, and, citing this, Dr. 'Alī Sãmī an-Nashshãr, *Nash'atu 'l-fikri 'l-falsafī fi 'l-Islãm*, vol.2, p.220, who, however, does not discuss it.

[112] By whom he had in mind those who held that things exist of themselves and in their existence have no need of God, who is their Creator, this being one of the historical roots of modern materialist thought; they also came in different degrees, from those who were plain and simple materialists – common materialism – and those who were influenced by the thoughts and philosophies of the Greeks, or Buddhist or Hindu beliefs.

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Kitãbu 'l-Ma'rifah, (13) *Kitãbu 'l-Alṭãf*, (14) *Kitãbu 'l-Alfãẓ*.[113]

If these ideas were firmly established ideas of Hishãm, then he would have mentioned them in his books, and his Imãmī biographers would have narrated them, and so would those who passed on knowledge and read his works, not one of which has reached us or been alluded to in the accounts of the Imãmiyyah, although some of his ideas are mentioned in their accounts, as will be seen.

In addition, that which adversaries do relate about Hishãm's ideas they say that he said in the course of discussion and debate with his Mu'tazilī adversaries and do not attribute a single one of them to what he wrote in any of his books. If these adversaries had stumbled upon any remnant of such ideas in his books then they would have attributed it to the book itself.

3. The statement of Hishãm: 'a body unlike [other] bodies' was originally one of Jahm ibn Ṣafwãn's ideas, and if Hishãm held it, then he was following Jahm in it, as was stated previously. Perhaps, after the Imãm aṣ-Ṣãdiq, peace be upon him, had turned him away from the Jahmiyyah, Hishãm used it when the Mu'tazilah were disputing with the adversaries of the Jahmiyyah. This statement remained fixed in the minds of his students or other Shī'ah, and when Hishãm came to hold a high position and rank with the Imãms, peace be upon them, and the Imãmiyyah as a whole, the Imãms asked about it, as will be shown. It is not correct for us to refute the honourable word of al-Murtaḍã, that Hishãm used it in the course of debate, employing what comes to us in the way of accounts which emphasize Hishãm's belief in the body.

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[113] Perhaps this latter was an explanation of the technical terms, which he used or which were used in theology. For all these titles see aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.204; an-Najãshī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.304-5; Ibnu 'n-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, p.224; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.115; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, pp.233-4; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.2, p.507; and others.

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4. Based on my investigation, and within the bounds of the sources I posess – and they are very limited when weighed against those that have perished – I am almost certain, for reasons which there is not enough room here to mention, that Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-'Allãf is to be considered the principle source for most of what is attributed to Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam.[114]

As to what is related by others besides Abu 'l-Hudhayl, there are statements showing us that these accounts can be traced back to him, if the narrators are truthful and have not fabricated the narration. For all the narrators the chain of their Mu'tazilī education goes back to him. Abu 'l-Hudhayl taught an-Naẓẓãm, Thumãmah ibn Ashras, an-Numayrī al-Baṣrī (d. 213/828) – one of Hishãm's Mu'tazilī contemporaries –, and Ja'far ibn Ḥarb al-Baṣrī, then al-Baghdãdī (177/793–236/850).[115]

an-Naẓẓãm taught Zurqãn, Muḥammad ibn Shaddãd ibn 'Īsã al-Baṣrī (d. 278/891), the famous author of *Kitãbu 'l-maqãlãt*, which is considered one of the authoritative Islamic reference works concerning treatises and sects,[116] and al-Jãḥiẓ, 'Amr ibn Baḥr (163/780–255/869).[117] Ibn Qutaybah ad-Dīnawarī, 'Abdullãh ibn Muslim (213/828–276/889) studied with al-

[114] Refer to the account directly from Abu 'l-Hudhayl, *Maqãlãtu 'l-Islãmiy-yīn*, vol.1, pp.103, 257, 258; and on his authority *al-Farq bayna 'l-firaq*, pp.48, 216; and *al-Firaq madhãhabi 'l-Islãmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.127; and from Abu 'l-Hudhayl, *al-Fiṣal*, vol.4, p.184; and on his authority *Minhãju 's-sunnah*, vol.1, p.203; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.6, p.194; and from Abu 'l-Hudhayl, *Faḍlu 'l-i'tizãl*, pp.140, 262; *al-Ḥūru 'l-'īyn*, p.254; and al-Kirmãnī, *al-Firaqu 'l-Islãmiyyah*, p.44.

[115] Refer to the account of him in *Maqãlãtu 'l-Islãmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.110; *al-Firaq*, p.50; *Minhãju 's-sunnah*, vol.l, p.214.

[116] Refer to the account in *Maqãlãtu 'l-Islãmiyyīn*, vol.1, pp.109, 112; vol.2, p.232; *Minhãju 's-sunnah*, vol.1, p.208; and on the authority of Zurqãn, *al-Ḥūru 'l-'īyn*, pp.148-9, 170.

[117] Refer to the account of his (which lacks a chain of authority) in *Maqãlãtu 'l-Islãmiyyīn*, vol.1, pp.104, 268; vol.2, pp.161-2; and on his authority, *al-Firaq*, pp.49, 216.

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Jāḥiẓ.[118]

Ja'far ibn Ḥarb was the teacher of Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Khayyāṭ, 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-Baghdādī (d. 300/912), the author of *al-Intiṣār wa 'r-radd 'alā Ibnu 'r-Rawandī al-mulḥid*.[119]

al-Khayyāṭ taught al-Ka'bī al-Balkhī, 'Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad (273/886–319/931);[120] and Mu'tazilī *imām*s who came after these, such as the two Jubbā'īs and the Qāḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār, drew from them. al-'Allāf is reckoned to be the head of the chain in this list.

Ibnu 'r-Rawandī accused al-Jāḥiz of having gone too far in his opposition to Hishām, to the extent that he stood shoulder to shoulder with the adversaries of the Commander of the Faithful, peace be upon him, and was 'driven to partisanship and seeking revenge for his two teachers in the person of Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam'.[121] Ibnu 'r-Rawandī does not specify who the two teachers were; without a doubt, one of them was an-Naẓẓām,[122] and it is clear to anyone who traces the thread back that the

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[118] See his reference to al-Jāḥiẓ in *'Uyūnu 'l-akhbār*, vol.3, pp.199, 216, 249; and see also what he states about Hishām in *Ta'wīl mukhtalifi 'l-ḥadīth*, p.48, and *Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.6, p.194.

[119] Refer to what he explicitly attributes to Hishām in *al-Intiṣār*, pp.14, 37, 50.

[120] See the account from him in *Maqālātu 'l-Islāmiyyīn*, vol.l, pp.104, 107-8; vol.2, pp.163-4, 231; *al-Firaq*, pp.49, 50; *Minhāju 's-sunnah*, vol.1, pp.207, 208; *al-Firaqu 'l-Islāmiyyah*, pp.44-45; and from al-Ka'bī, *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, p.184.

[121] *al-Intiṣār*, p.103.

[122] Agreeing here with the sources, which give al-Jāḥiẓ as a pupil of an-Naẓẓām: see *Faḍlu 'l-i'tizāl*, p.265; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, pp.153, 162; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.7, p.97; vol.12, p.213; Ibn Khallikān, vol.3, p.471; *Mu'jamu 'l-udabā'*, vol.6, p.57; *Nuzhatu 'l-alibbā'*, p.192; and many other sources. al-Jāḥiẓ amplifies accounts from an-Naẓẓām, and praises him in his books: refer to the name indexes in *al-Bayān wa 't-tabyīn, al-Ḥayawān*, etc.

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second is Abu 'l-Hudhayl.[123]

Abu 'l-Hudhayl took revenge on others within the Imãmiyyah, e.g., their theologians Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ismã'īl ibn Shu'ayb ibn Maytham al-Kūfī, then al-Baṣrī, famous among them as 'Alī ibn Maytham:[124] 'He was one of the prominent theologians among our followers who disputed with Abu 'l-Hudhayl and an-Naẓẓãm, and held sessions and wrote books'.[125] There is also what Ibn Ḥajar narrated from Abu 'l-Qãsim at-Taymī in the "Kitãbu 'l-Ḥujjah": 'He debated with him before the *amīr* of Baṣrah.'[126]

20
THE IMÃMĪ DEFENSE OF HISHÃM

Indeed, there exists in the accounts of the Imãmiyyah the attribution of the doctrine of God's having a body to Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam, and these accounts contributed to the belief being attributed to him; and yet his belief in it is inexplicable.[127] His belief is clearly set forth in a number of places, among them is a Tradition from Yūnus ibn Ẓabyãn, in which he relates Hishãm's belief to the Imãm aṣ-Ṣãdiq, peace be upon him, and says:

> He claims that Allãh is a body, because the matter is twofold: a body and the action of the body. It is not possible

[123] *al-Ḥayawãn*, vol.6, p.166.

[124] His report concerning the discussion surrounding Hishãm ibn Sãlim will follow.

[125] an-Najãshī, p.176; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vo1.4, p.167; and refer to examples of his disputations with Abu 'l-Hudhayl, in which he gained the upper hand, in *al-Fuṣūlu 'l-mukhtãrah*, vol.1, pp.6, 55; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.10, pp.370-2.

[126] Refer to *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.5, pp.265-6, to see what he invented about him.

[127] See *al-Kãfī*, vol.1, p.105, nos.285/6; *at-Tawḥīd*, pp.97, 99; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.3, p.303.

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for 'Maker' to have the meaning 'doing', while it is possible for it to have the meaning 'doer'.

Abū 'Abdillãh, peace be upon him, said:

Woe to him. He knows that a body is limited and finite, that a form is limited and finite, and if limits are permitted then addition and subtraction are [also] permissible, and if additions and subtractions are permitted, then He is a created being.[128]

There is also a Tradition from Ḥasan ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmãn al-Ḥimmãnī, who said:

I said to Abu 'l-Ḥasan Mūsã ibn Ja'far, peace be upon him, that Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam claimed that God was a body unlike any thing [i.e., a body unlike (other) bodies], Knowing, Hearing, Seeing, posessing Power, Conversing and Speaking; Speech, Power, and Knowledge go together, nothing of them being created. He, peace be upon him, renounced the doctrine of body, because it is limited, and he pointed out that these attributes do not go together, since there are among them those which are attributes of essence, such as Knowledge and Power, and those which are attributes of action, like Conversing and Speech.[129]

It is stated in a Tradition from 'Alī ibn Abī Ḥamzah:

I said to Abū 'Abdillãh, peace be upon him, that I heard Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam relate on your authority that Allãh is a body, eternal and radiant, and that knowledge of Him is necessary, and He bestows [it] upon whoever of His creatures He wishes.[130]

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[128] *al-Kãfī*, vol.1, p.106, no.287; *at-Tawḥīd*, p.99; *al-Fuṣūl 'l-mukhtãrah*, vol.2, p.285; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.3, p.302; vol.10, p.453. Another tradition on the same subject with a clearer and more detailed explanation about Hishãm ibn Sãlim will be mentioned in his biography.

[129] *al-Kãfī*, vol.1, p.106, no.288; *at-Tawḥīd*, p.100; *al-Iḥtijãj*, vol.2, p.155; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.3, p.295.

[130] *al-Kãfī*, vol.1, p.104, no.282; *at-Tawḥīd*, p.98; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.3, p.301.

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However, it is extremely likely that the narrator has confused the words of Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam with what is attributed to Hishām ibn Sālim, as will be seen. Whatever the case may be the meaning of the *ḥadīth* is not different from what has been stated previously.

The same statement has been made on Hishām's authority in books of theological ideas: 'He is a body unlike bodies', and that Hishām said: 'What I intend by saying "body" is that He is existent, that He is a thing, and that He is self-existent, because whatever exists is either a body or an attribute of bodies.'[131] It has already been said that Hishām took this statement from Jahm ibn Ṣafwān.

Hishām's excuse in this was that he had not come across another term besides 'body', which conveyed the meaning of 'self-existent being'; the error or correctness of this expression is a question of language, not belief, as al-Murtaḍā stated. 'Body' in the Arabic language has a distinctly defined meaning, and it is incorrect to apply another meaning to it unless this meaning is qualified and justifiable.

Hishām lived at the beginning of an age in which theological and philosophical terms were being coined in the Muslim community, and he was one of those early *mutakallim*s who 'was feeling his way towards an adequate philosophical vocabulary in Arabic', as W. Montgomery Watt has stated.[132]

Perhaps the clue to this harshness on the part of the Imāms peace be upon them, and this manifestly cutting denial of what Hishām expressed goes back to the fact that 'body', as we have indicated previously, has a clear significance in ordinary speech,

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[131] *Maqālātu 'l-Islāmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.257; vol.2, p.182; and see 'Alī Sāmī an-Nashshār, *Nash'atu 'l-fikri 'l-falsafī fi 'l-Islām*, vol.2, p.230; Sahīr Muḥammad Mukhtār, *at-Tajsīm 'inda 'l-Muslimīn*, p.127, and the sources indicated in both of them.

[132] *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*, Edinburgh, 1973, p.248.

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stemming from its meaning in the Arabic language, and that, if Hishām ascribed 'body' to God and coupled 'unlike bodies' to it, it would almost certainly induce the idea of, or lead the ordinary mind to, corporeality and anthropomorphism, provided 'a body unlike bodies' were interpreted by them in a way close to the interpretation we have related earlier, based on the state-ments of the non-Imāmī Traditionists who believed in corpor-eality, limbs, and the parts of God, but said that He did not resemble in any one of these things anything belonging to a created body, or limbs, or parts. The meaning of their doctrine, even if they did not make it clear, was that Allāh has 'a head unlike heads', and 'a hand unlike hands', and 'an eye unlike eyes', and that He is 'a body unlike bodies' with the word 'body' continuing to carry the same meaning as that which was ordin-arly understood, and not the precise meaning which Hishām intended and which was elevated above the ordinary level of comprehension, not to mention the comprehension of scholars who were not specialists in the science of theology. Hishām should not have used the word 'body' without a clear explan-ation of its context. For this reason, the expression suggests corporeality and anthropomorphism in the mind of the listener, even if the speaker who deployed the term did not intend these concepts, especially a theologian like Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, given the distinguished position he held with the Imāms, peace be upon them, and the indisputable scholarly and religious position he held with their Shī'ī followers.

The following discussion, concerning the debate surround-ing Hishām ibn Sālim, will bear witness to what we have said, since in it the Imām, peace be upon him, approves of what Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam and his followers state, but only when the people being addressed are specialists in the science of theology who can distinguish between scholarly terminology and the ordinary meanings of language.

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21
THE OPINION OF HISHĀM ON GOD'S BODY BEING UNLIKE OTHER BODIES, AND THE IMĀMĪ POSITION AGAINST HIM

It is appropriate, although perhaps rather surprising, that I should pass on an opinion concerning 'a body unlike bodies' from one of the most stalwart of Muslim scholars, strict and vehement in matters of belief, one of the many who stood by the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* in his opinion, inflexible regarding the way they were formulated, and one of the greatest critics of what he saw as innovation and heresy in religion, Abū Muḥammad 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥazm al-Andulusī (384/994–456/1064), who stated:

> If they say to us: You state that Allāh is Living unlike [other] living beings, Knowing unlike [other] knowers, Powerful unlike those who posess power, a thing unlike [other] things, and you do not prohibit the doctrine that He is a body unlike [other] bodies, then it should be said to them, but let Allāh be the judge: Is there not a Text transmitted in the name of the Most High which contains the designation that He is Living, Powerful, and Knowing in the sense that we designate such things? But going no further than the Text is a duty (*farḍ*), and no text has come ascribing a body to Him, and the proof of ascribing a body to him does not stand, rather proof prohibits this ascription. If a text were to come to us which assigned a body to Him, then we would be obliged to believe that; but we would say that he is unlike bodies, as we state with respect to Knowing, Powerful, and Living, without any difference. As for the expression 'thing,' the Qur'ān contains it, and proof makes it necessary.[133]

[133] *al-Fiṣal*, offset print, Dāru 'l-Ma'rifah, Beirut, 1395/1975, vol.2, pp.118-9.

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He also says:

> Whoever states that Allãh is a body unlike bodies is not an anthropomorphist [read *mushabbih* in place of *mushtabih*] because it is the limit of the names of Allãh, since 'we name Him the Glorious and Exalted, which he did not assign to himself. As for he who says that Allãh is like bodies, he is an apostate regarding His names, and an anthropomorphist because of it.'[134]

Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd ash-Shãfi‘ī al-Mu‘tazilī says:

> As for he who says He is a body unlike bodies, in the sense opposite to an accident from which it is impossible to imagine an action coming, and denies it has the sense of 'body', and when he then extends this expression to mean that He is a thing unlike things, and an essence unlike essences, then their case is easy, because they differ in expression, they being: ‘Alī ibn Manṣūr, as-Sakkãk, Yūnus ibn ‘Abdi 'r-Raḥmãn, and al-Faḍl ibn Shãdhãn, and all these are Shī‘ī elders . . . And partisans of Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam in our time claim that he did not believe in spiritual corporealism (*at-tajsīmu 'l-ma‘nawī*),[135] but that he believed that He is a body unlike bodies, with the meaning which we mentioned for Yūnus, as-Sakkãk, and the others, although al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsã an-Nawbakhtī, who was one of the eminent Shī‘ah, has had pure anthropomorphism attributed to him in the book *al-Ãrã’ wa 'd-diyãnãt*.[136]

What an-Nawbakhtī mentions he relates from Mu‘tazilī adversaries of Hishãm, some of whom al-Murtaḍã names in his preceding discussion. Ibnu 'l-Jawzī spoke about him and his

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[134] *Ibid.,* vol.2, p.120.

[135] Which necessarily implies corporeality, and is opposed to literal corporealism (*at-tajsīmu 'l-lafẓī*), i.e., the declaration that God has a body in the material sense.

[136] *Sharḥ Nahju 'l-balãghah*, vol.3, p.228.

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book, saying: "Abū Muḥammad an-Nawbakhtī mentions, on the authority of al-Jāḥiẓ, on the authority of an-Naẓẓām . . ."[137] but Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd leaves out the chain of transmission, for obvious reasons.

The Shaykh al-Mufīd states:

> Truly Allāh knows everything that is, prior to its existence, and there is no event which he does not know before its occurance . . . This is a doctrine of the entire Imāmiyyah, and we do not recognize that which the Mu'tazilah relate from Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam with regard to a difference of opinion [i.e., the attribution to him which was mentioned previously, that he said God knows of events after their occurrence, the doctrine which Jahm held]. According to us this is a complete fabrication of theirs about him, and an error of those Shī'ī who blindly follow them in it and state it on his authority. We find no listed book or established meeting [in which he explicitly clarifies his view concerning God's knowledge], and his statements on the fundamentals of the Imāmate and concommitant issues demonstrate the opposite of what the adversaries narrated from him.[138]

Thus it appears that the adversaries of the Imāmiyyah were more lenient about 'a body unlike bodies', and the Imāms, peace be upon them, stricter; I have already cited my opinion about the reason for this strictness.

22
THE OPPOSITION OF THE NON-IMĀMĪS TO HISHĀM'S OPINION

There is a body of evidence which offers convincing proof of

[137] *Talbīs Iblīs*, p.83.
[138] *Awāilu 'l-maqālāt fi 'l-madhāhib wa 'l-mukhtārāt*, Tabriz, 2nd printing, 1371, pp.21-22.

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the innocence of Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam of that which his adversaries attributed to him regarding corporeality and anthropomorphism, and, moreover, that his statement 'a body unlike bodies' did not find favour with the Imãms.

1. Our scholars relate that Hishãm retracted his statement 'a body unlike bodies' after the Imãm aṣ-Ṣãdiq, peace be upon him, critisized him for it.[139]

2. A statement by Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam which al-Kulaynī transmits in the chapter on the falsity of the doctrine that God can be seen with ocular vision (*ibṭãlu 'r-ru'yah*), in the context of the *ḥadīth* of the Imãms, peace be upon them, which the distinguished al-Majlisī explains with his statement:

> Because he was one of the greatest followers of the *ma'ṣūmīn* (the infallible ones), peace be upon them, [the statement by Hishãm] was well regarded because it was taken from them.[140]

In this statement, Hishãm proves the impossibility of seeing God under any circumstance, as ocular sight is incapable of fixing upon anything besides bodies. He states at the end of it: 'Allãh is above comparison with anything'.[141] If Hisham was among those who believed in corporeality then it would not have been possible for him to say what he said.

3. His statement, which aṣ-Ṣadūq narrates on his authority, in reply to someone who asked: "In what manner do you know your Lord?" He stated: "I know Allãh, exalted be His greatness, through my soul, because it is the closest thing to me," and then gave proof through the compoundedness of his body and the principles according to which it was constructed. Then he said:

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[139] al-Mufīd, *al-Fuṣūlu 'l-mukhtãrah*, vol.2, pp.284-5; al-Karãjikī, *Kanzu 'l-fawãid*, pp.198-9; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.3, p.290; vol.10, p.452; *Mir'ãtu 'l-'uqūl*, vol.2, p.5.

[140] *Mir'ãtu 'l-'uqūl*, vol.1, pp.341-2.

[141] *al-Kãfī,* "Kitãbu 't-Tawḥīd", vol.1, pp.99-100, no.269.

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> It is impossible for there to be a composition for which there is no composer, and the stability of a form without a former; I know that [my body] has a creator who created it, and a former who formed it, different from it in all its aspects [i.e., not having that which is composed of parts, because they entail imperfection and need]. Allãh has said: *And in yourselves, can you not see?* (adh-Dhãriyãt, 51:21).[142]

4. We have already listed the names of those of Hishãm's books which deal with Unicity and the discussion related to it, such as the *Kitãbu 'd-Dalãlah 'alã ḥadathi (ḥudūthi) 'l-ajsãm* – according to aṭ-Ṭūsī: *al-ashyã'* instead of *al-ajsãm*.[143] How could someone who describes Allãh as a body write a book in which he maintains that bodies are inherently created and incipient and not eternally pre-existent.

However, this book, like Hishãm's other books, and like the great mass of books by Imãmī scholars written during the first four centuries, has not come down to us; anyone who refers to the well known catalogues of Imãmī books – the catalogue of the Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī and that of an-Najãshī – will find that ninety per cent of the familiar books whose names are listed in them have perished, and no trace of them remains except for their titles listed in the catalogues. I have described some of the reasons for this in my biography of the Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī in the introduction to the "Kitãbu 't-Tawḥīd" from al-Kulaynī's *al-Kãfī*, referring to his famous library which the adversaries burned many times, just as they did others.

There remains before us no route to the study of Hishãm via

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[142] *at-Tawḥīd*, p.289; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.3, pp.49-50.

[143] an-Najãshī, *al-Fihrist*, p.304; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.204; Ibnu 'n-Nadīm, p.224; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*; p.115; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, pp.232-3; *Īḍãḥu 'l-maknūn*, vol.1, p.476; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.2, p.507; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.8, p.254.

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the many different books he wrote, except to be guided by their titles to their contents, and from this tiny ray of light to be guided back to the doctrines, which the author expounded in them. From a study of Hishām's books we are able to judge that he argued with atheists (*zanādiqah*) and refuted them, argued with dualists, and attacked the materialism which existed in those days, and which was expressed by upholders of natural explanations (*tabāyi'*). Despite all this we find some adversaries who accused him and his followers of atheism, and some who accused them of having taken their beliefs from dualists.

5. That which will follow is a biography of Hishām ibn Sālim, whom Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam opposed because the doctrines he espoused were based on *ḥadīth*s which were untrue or which he had not correctly understood. Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam charged him that these opinions only led him to believe in corporeality, which Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam refuted.

23
THE INCORRECTNESS OF ATTRIBUTING VIEWS ON CORPOREALITY AND ANTHROPOMORPHISM TO HISHĀM IBN SĀLIM

Here we shall consider Abū Muḥammad, Hishām ibn Sālim al-Jawālīqī, al-Kūfī. His Imāmī biographers say of him:

> Hishām ibn Sālim was a client of Bishr ibn Marwān from the capture of al-Jūzajān,[144] conquered in the year 32/653 during the caliphate of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān.[145] It is narrated of him on the authority of the two Imāms aṣ-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim, peace be upon them, that he was trustworthy, veracious in belief, and so well-known for his

[144] The name of a region lying between Balkh, to the west of it, and Marw ar-Rūdh: see *Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.2, p.182; *ar-Rawḍu 'l-mi'ṭār*, p.182; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p.423.

[145] aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol.1, pp.2900-1; *Futūḥu 'l-buldān*, vol.3, pp.503-4.

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attachment to *wilãyah* that none can deny it.[146]

His patron, Bishr ibn Marwãn ibn al-Ḥakam al-Umawī (30/651–75/694) ruled Kūfah for his brother, the caliph 'Abdu 'l-Malik, in the first year of his reign, 71/691, and then Baṣrah and Kūfah were brought under him in 12.74/4.694. His reign lasted only a few months, and he died at the beginning of 75/694.[147] It is inevitable that we pause, if briefly, on this portion of Hishãm's life, since it has a strong bearing on what we shall say about his opinions and the nature of the *ḥadīth*, which he relied on in the doctrines, he held.

It is apparent that the person who was captured on the day of the conquest of al-Jūzajãn was Abū Hishãm Sãlim and not Hishãm himself, since it is extremely unlikely that Hishãm's life – no matter what date we assign to the beginning of his life – could have stretched from 32/653, the year of the conquest of al-Jūzajãn, to after the death of the Imãm aṣ-Ṣãdiq, peace be upon him, in 148/765 – whatever we designate as the length of time he remained alive after him. In addition, Sãlim is an Arab name, which was commonly understood at that time as the name for a slave, and this naming would have been incorrect unless the captive on the day of the conquest of al-Jūzajãn had been the father of Hishãm who was then given an Arabic name.

Perhaps the attribution of clientage which the Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī cites for Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam, 'al-Ju'fī, their patron'[148] was what Hishãm inherited from his father Sãlim, because those who captured him were from the tribe of al-Ju'fī,

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[146] an-Najãshī, p.305; al-Kishshī, p.281; al-Barqī, pp.34-35; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, pp.234, 238; al-'Allãmah, *Khulãṣatu 'l-aqwãl*, p.179; Abū Dãwūd, p.368; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.19, pp.363-4.

[147] aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol.2, pp.816, 822, 834, 862; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.4, pp.331, 347; *al-Ma'ãrif*, pp.355, 458, 571; Khalīfah, *at-Tãrīkh*, vol.1, pp.341, 345, 349, 384, 385; *Tãrīkh Dimashq*, vol.10, pp.111-29; *Siyar a'lãmi 'n-nubalã'*, vol.4, pp.145-6.

[148] *ar-Rijãl*, p.329, no.17.

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the Qaḥṭānī tribe of the Yemen. This does not contradict what Hishām's biographers mention regarding his being a client of Bishr ibn Marwān al-Umawī al-Qurashī al-'Adnānī. It suggests that Hishām himself was a client of Bishr, because he had purchased him, and does not suggest anything more than that.

He broke his former clientage, which his father bequeathed to him, and perhaps this is the clue to the neglect by all of his biographers to mention his former, broken clientage, and their being satisfied to mention the subsequent one alone.

I do not know when Bishr purchased him, or how old he was on the day he was purchased, but it is safe to say that at that time Hishām was young; rather it is probable that he had not even reached puberty when his patron Bishr died in 75/694. It is reliably stated that Hishām was not an Imāmī when he was purchased, since it would have been odd for his previous patrons to have sold a Shī'ī slave to Bishr ibn Marwān, the Ummayad, who was far from being a Shī'ī. It is even more unlikely that it be supposed that they were Shī'ī and that Bishr followed them in faith. It is clear from this that he could not then have been a Shī'ī, but that he held Ummayad beliefs after he became their client.

It is evident from his opinions, which I shall mention subsequently, that he was oriented towards the hearing of *ḥadīth*; it is also evident from these opinions, and due to the fact of his non-Imāmī upbringing, that he was oriented towards non-Imāmī *ḥadīth*. His views and thoughts were stamped by the *ḥadīth*, which he heard, to the point where it was difficult for him to rid himself of these opinions. It is also evident that Hishām ibn Sālim, after many years, perhaps when he had reached fifty years of age or more, chose the Imāmī school. This is confirmed by the fact that the first of the Imāms, peace be upon them, with whom he came into contact was the Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him (83/702–148/765), although he was alive at the time

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of as-Sajjād (38/659–94/712) and during the period of al-Bāqir (57/676–114/733), peace be upon them, since if we establish Hishām's age at the death of Bishr in 75/694 as being ten – and in my opinion this is the lowest estimate of his age – then Hishām was fifty at the time of al-Bāqir's death. His abstention from contact with the Imām of his time during this long period, and the delay of contact until the period of the Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, has no believable explanation other than that he did not believe in the Imāmate until aṣ-Ṣādiq's time, at which time he joined him.

Hishām's life was long, and he lived up to the time of the Imām al-Kāẓim, peace be upon him (129/746–183/799).

24
A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF HISHĀM AL-JAWĀLĪQĪ

Hishām ibn Sālim is the second of the two Hishāms to whom they attributed the doctrine of pure corporealism and anthropomorphism; we shall review what has been cited in both Imāmī and non-Imāmī *ḥadīth*.

1. A Tradition from Muḥammad ibn Ḥakīm, who said:

> I described for Abu 'l-Ḥasan, peace be upon him, the belief of Hishām al-Jawālīqī, and what he says about the long-haired young man (*ash-shābu 'l-muwaffar*) . . .[149]

A Tradition from Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Khazzāz and Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn who said:

> We called upon Abu 'l-Ḥasan ar-Riḍā, peace be upon him, and we related to him that Muḥammad, may Allāh bless him and his family and [grant them salvation], saw his Lord in the form of a long-haired young man, of the age of boys of thirty years. We said: 'Hishām ibn Sālim and his

[149] *al-Kāfī*, vol.1, p.106, no.289; *at-Tawḥīd*, p.97; *al-Biḥār*, vol.3, p.300.

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renowned companion aṭ-Ṭãq[150] and al-Maythamī[151] stated that He is hollow in the centre but the rest is firm.'[152]

A Tradition from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Naṣr al-Bazanṭī from ar-Riḍã, peace be upon him. He said:

> He said to me: 'O Aḥmad! What is the difference between you and the followers of Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam with respect to Unicity?' I said: 'May I be made your ransom! We believe in the form because of the *ḥadīth* which narrates: "The Prophet of Allãh, may Allãh bless him and his family [and grant them salvation], saw his Lord in the form of a young man", and Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam believes in denying [that God has a] body.'[153]

This indicates that Hishãm denied the form, because its assertion would require that Allãh has a body.

2. al-Kishshī relates from 'Abdu 'l-Malik ibn Hishãm al-Ḥannãṭ that he said to Abu 'l-Ḥasan ar-Riḍã, peace be upon him:

> May I be made your ransom! Hishãm ibn Sãlim claims that Allãh, the Great, the Exalted, is a form, and that Ãdam was created in the image of the Lord, and he describes this and that – and I indicated my flank and the hair on my head[154] – and Yūnus[155] a client of the Ãl Yaqṭīn and Hishãm ibn al-

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[150] Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī an-Nu'mãnī al-Bajalī, Mu'minu 'ṭ-Ṭãq, al-Kūfī (d. *c* 160/777) the trustworthy and famous theologian.

[151] 'Alī ibn Ismã'īl ibn Shu'ayb ibn Maytham, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Maythamī.

[152] *al-Kãfī*, vol.1, pp.100-2, no.272; *at-Tawḥīd*, pp.113-4; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.4, pp.39-41.

[153] 'Alī ibn Ibrãhīm, *at-Tafsīr*, vol.1, p.20; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.3, p.307; *Tafsīru 'l-burhãn*, vol.1, p.38; *Nūru 'th-thaqalayn*, vol.5, p.155.

[154] i.e., Hishãm ibn Sãlim believes that God has hair and limbs like a hand and a leg, and 'Abdu 'l-Malik mentions this by way of allusion, dreading the direct expression of such things about God, especially in front of the Imãm, peace be upon him.

[155] Yūnus ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmãn, a student of Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam.

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> Ḥakam claim that God is a thing unlike [other] things, that things are distinct from Him and He from things. They claim that the substantiation of a thing is a body, that He is a body unlike [other] bodies, a thing unlike things, substantiated and existent, not absent or non-existent, excepted from two restrictions: the restriction of invalidity,[156] and the restriction of anthropomorphism; and which of these two beliefs should I believe?
>
> He, peace be upon him, said:
>
> [Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam] meant substantiation, and [Hishām ibn Sālim] compared his Lord with a created thing, may Allāh – Who has no likeness, no equal, no model, no parallel, and is not included in the attribute of created beings – be raised above this. Do not believe the like of what Hishām ibn Sālim believed; believe what was stated by the client of the clan of Yaqṭīn [Yūnus] and his companion [Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam].[157]

3. Hishām ibn Sālim al-Jawālīqī and his followers used to say: "God is in human form, the uppermost part of Him is hollow, and the lowerest part is solid; He is a radiant light shining with a white light, He has five senses like humans, a hand, a leg, a nose, an ear, and a mouth, and He has abundant black hair which is a black light [since all of Him is light, and His body is white light, His abundant hair is black light], but he has no flesh nor blood,[158] and they affirm that he has every human limb

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[156] *Ḥaddu 'l-ibṭāl*, i.e., the invalidity of the divine adjectives like Living, Powerful, Knowing, Hearing, and Seeing, signifying their meanings, because the affirmation of signification entails corporealism and anthropomorphism, and this judgement, i.e., that it is invalid, comes in many of the Imāmī *ḥadīth*, and this is what is meant by the agnosticism (*ta'ṭīl*) of such as the Jahmiyyah.

[157] al-Kishshī, pp.284-5; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, p.237.

[158] *Maqālātu 'l-Islāmiyyīn*, vol.1, pp.105, 259; ash-Shahristānī, vol.1, p.185; *al-Farq bayna 'l-firaq*, pp.51, 320-1; *al-Ansāb*, f. 590b; *al-Lubāb*, vol.3, p.389; *Minhāju 's-sunnah*, vol.1, pp.203, 259; and other sources.

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except private parts and a beard",[159] and they deny, despite that, that He is a body,[160] and they relate that this was a view of Mu'minu ṭ-Ṭãq and 'Alī ibn Maytham.[161]

But ash-Shahristãnī and aṣ-Ṣafadī relate on the authority of Mu'minu 'ṭ-Ṭãq that he, stated: "Allãh is a light in the form of a divine human" and refuted that He was a body, but he said: "It has been related in a Tradition: 'Allãh created Ãdam in His image' and 'in the image of the Merciful', and the Tradition must be said to be true."[162] ash-Shahristãnī adds: "What is related on his authority with regard to anthropomorphism is without truth."[163]

Nevertheless, they relate that he believed in determinism and anthropomorphism, both he and his followers, the 'Shayṭã-niyyah',[164] and that 'truly Allãh is a limited and finite body.'[165]

They mention 'ash-Shayṭãniyyah' and 'al-Mushabbihah,' and say: "They are affiliated to Shayṭãnu 'ṭ-Ṭãq, and it is narrated from him that he believes in many of the anthropomorphic statements of the Rawãfiḍ [?],"[166]

From another stand-point, they cite in the biography of Mu'minu 'ṭ-Ṭãq: 'He was a Mu'tazilī',[167] and 'he shared the innovation of both the Mu'tazilah and the Rãfiḍah.'[168]

4. They add to these Yūnus ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmãn al-Yaqṭīnī, al-Baghdãdī (*c* 125/742–208/823-4), the well-known Imãmī Traditionist and theologian, a student of Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam. They

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[159] al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol.2, p.348-9.
[160] Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, vol.3, p.224.
[161] *Ibid.*, vol.3, p.224; *al-Ḥūru 'l-'īn*, p.149.
[162] *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, p.187; *al-Wãfī bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.4, p.104.
[163] *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, p.186.
[164] *al-Bad' wa 't-tãrīkh*, vol.5, p.132.
[165] *Ibid.*, vol.1, p.85.
[166] *al-Ansãb*, vol.8, pp.238-9; *al-Lubãb*, vol.2, p.225.
[167] *al-Wãfī bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.4, p.104.
[168] a1-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol.2, pp.348, 353.

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say about him: 'He was one of the Shī'ī anthropomorph-ists',[169] and: 'Yūnus went too far in the matter of anthropomorphism',[170] 'and he claimed that the angels who bear the throne also carry the Creator',[171] 'and he concludes that He is predicated by His words: *and eight will hold the throne of your Lord above them on that day* [al-Ḥāqqah 69:17]',[172] 'since it has been narrated in the Tradition: the angels are sometimes weighed down from the pressure of the greatness of Allāh on the throne.'[173]

25
VIEWS ON CORPOREALITY AND ANTHROPOMORPHISM ATTRIBUTED TO AL-JAWĀLĪQĪ

It is clear that these views, whether correctly attributed or not, are reactions to the following *ḥadīth* which these people heard, which they believed to be correct, which they understood in their ostensive meaning. These are the *ḥadīth*, which are indicated in the doctrines themselves.

1. A Tradition from Ummu 'ṭ-Ṭufayl, the wife of Ubayy ibn Ka'b, the well known companion of the prophet, who said:

> I heard the Messenger of Allāh, may Allāh bless him [and his family] and grant him [them] salvation, mention that he saw his Lord in a dream in the form of a long-haired young man (*shāb muwaffar*), in green, on a carpet of gold, and that on his feet there were two golden slippers.

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[169] *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, p.188; *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol.2, p.353.
[170] *al-Farq bayna 'l-firaq*, p.53; *al-Ansāb*, f. 603b; *al-Lubāb*, vol.3, p.421.
[171] *Maqālātu 'l-Islāmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.106; *Minhāju 's-sunnah*, vol.1, p.207; *al-Farq*, p.216; *at-Tabṣīr fi 'd-dīn*, p.43.
[172] *al-Farq*, p.53; *al-Ansāb*, f. 603b; *al-Lubāb*, vol.3, p.421.
[173] *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.l, p.188.

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By *muwaffar* he means 'having *wafrah*',[174] and by 'green' he means 'in green clothing'.[175]

It is stated in the biography of Abu 'l-Ḥasan, 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Bashshār al-Baghdādī, al-Ḥanbalī (d. 313/ 925), the ascetic Traditionist, who they say had the power of miracles and that whoever loved him was a follower of the *sunnah*, and whose tomb, many centuries after his death, was apparantly famous in Baghdad and visited by the people:[176]

> Aḥmad al-Barmakī said: 'I asked Abu 'l-Ḥasan ibn Bashshār about the *ḥadīth* of Ummu 'ṭ-Ṭufayl and the *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Abbās [to follow] concerning ocular vision [of God], and he said: "Both of them are correct." A man then objected, and said: "These *ḥadīth*s should not be cited at a time like this!" Then Ibn Bashshār said: "Islam is being extinguished".'[177]

The *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Abbās, who stated:

> The Messenger of Allāh, may Allāh bless him [and his family] and grant him [them] salvation, said: 'I saw my Lord in the form of a young man with long hair.'[178]

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[174] *Wafrah*: the hair massed on the head, especially that which falls onto the ears: *al-Qāmūs*, vol.2, p.155; *Tāju 'l-'arūs*, vol.3, p.605; *Lisānu 'l-'Arab*, vol.5, pp.288-9; *al-Mu'jamu 'l-waṣīṭ*, vol.2, p.1046.

[175] al-Bayhaqī, *al-Asmā' wa 'ṣ-ṣifāt*, pp.446-7; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.13, p.311; *Usdu 'l-ghābah*, vol.7, p.356; and many other sources. For adh-Dhahabī's opinion on the *ḥadīth* see: *Siyar a'lāmi 'n-nubalā'*, vol.10, pp.602-4; as-Suyūṭī defended its veracity (*al-La'ālī al-maṣnū'ah*, vol.1, pp.28-29.

[176] *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.12, pp.66-67; *al-Muntaẓam*, vol.6, pp.198-9; *Shadharātu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.2, p.267; *Ṭabaqātu 'l-Ḥanābilah*, vol.2, pp.57-63; *al-Minhaju 'l-Aḥmad*, vol.2, pp.7-11.

[177] *Ṭabaqātu 'l-Ḥanābilah*, vol.2, p.59; *al-Minhaju 'l-Aḥmad*, vol.2, p.8.

[178] aṭ-Ṭabarānī narrates it in *as-Sunnah* from Abū Zur'ah ar-Rāzī, 'Ubaydullāh ibn 'Abdi 'l-Karīm (200/815–264/878), one of the *imām*s of *ḥadīth*, who stated: "It is a correct *ḥadīth*, which only the Mu'tazilah deny"; *Kanzu 'l-'ummāl*, vol.1, p.204; *Muntakhab* [Gloss to Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*] vol.1, p.113; *al-La'ālī al-maṣnū'ah*, vol.1, pp.29-30).

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The *ḥadīth* of Mu'ãdh ibn 'Afrã':

> The Messenger of Allãh, may Allãh bless him [and his family] and grant him [them] salvation, related that he saw the Lord of the Worlds, the Exalted, the Glorious, in Paradise, wearing a crown which dazzled the vision.[179]

The *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Abbãs from the Messenger of Allãh, may Allãh bless him [and his family] and grant him [them] salvation, who said:

> I saw my Lord in the form of a beardless young man, on whom there was a red garment.[180]

And another *ḥadīth* from him, may Allãh bless him [and his family] and grant him [them] salvation, in which he said:

> I saw my Lord, the Exalted, the Glorious, a young man, beardless, with short, curly hair, on whom there was a red garment.[181]

And many other *ḥadīth*s.

2. As for the Prophet's seeing his Lord during his night journey to Paradise (*al-isrã'*), there is nothing more than that which is related by the non-Imãmī sects about it:

> Ibn 'Abbãs said, and he swore by this: '[The Prophet] saw his Lord with his eyes twice.'[182]
>
> al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī used to swear by Allãh: 'Indeed

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[179] *Kanzu 'l-'ummãl*, vol.1, p.204; *Muntakhab*, vol.l, p.113; *al-La'ãlī al-maṣnū'ah*, vol.1, p.30; from aṭ-Ṭabarãnī in *as-Sunnah*, and al-Baghawī took it from him, as in *al-Iṣãbah*, vol.6, p.140.

[180] *Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.11, p.214; *al-La'ãlī al-maṣnū'ah*, vol.1, p.30.

[181] *Ṭabaqãtu 'l-Ḥanãbilah*, vol.2, pp.45-46, where its veracity is defended.

[182] at-Tirmidhī, vol.5, p.395; *al-Mustadrak 'ala 'ṣ-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol.1, p.65; *at-Tawḥīd wa ithbãt ṣifãti 'r-rabb*, pp.200, 205; Ibn Kathīr, *at-Tafsīr*, vol.3, p.304; vol.7, p.424; *Fatḥu 'l-bãrī*, vol.10, p.230; *ad-Durru 'l-manthūr*, vol.6, p.124; *Fatḥu 'l-qadīr*, vol.5, p.110; and many other sources.

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Muḥammad saw his Lord.'[183]

'Ikrimah used to say: 'Yes, he saw Him, then he saw Him, and then he saw Him', until his life ended.[184]

And an-Nawawī said: "A group of commentators hold the view that he saw Him with his eyes; it is the belief of Anas, 'Ikrimah, al-Ḥasan, and ar-Rabī'. . ."[185]

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal was asked about this, and he said: 'I shall say, with the *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Abbās: "With his eyes he saw his Lord, he saw Him, he saw Him", until the life of Aḥmad comes to an end.'[186]

an-Nawawī said:

> What is quoted by most of the scholars is: 'Truly the Messenger of Allāh, may Allāh bless him [and his family] and grant him [them] salvation, saw his Lord with the two eyes of his head on the night of al-Isrā' . . . He, the Exalted, the Glorious in stature, will be visible on the Day of Reckoning to the whole of creation: men and *jinn*, male and female, believer or unbeliever, and the angels, Gabriel and others.'[187]

As for the greater part of the *ḥadīth* themselves, I shall only mention one of them, which was narrated by Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq, the renowned Traditionist and biographer, with its chain

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[183] *at-Tawḥīd*, pp.199-200; an-Nawawī, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol.3, p.5; *Fatḥu 'l-bārī*, vol.10, p.231; '*Umdatu 'l-qārī*, vol.19, p.198; etc.

[184] aṭ-Ṭabarī, *at-Tafsīr*, vol.27, p.28; *ash-Sharī'ah*, p.496; Ibn Kathīr, *at-Tafsīr*, vol.7, p.425; *ad-Durru 'l-manthūr*, vol.6, p.124.

[185] *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol.3, p.6; *al-Mirqāt sharḥu 'l-mishkāt*, vol.5, p.306.

[186] *ash-Shifā*, vol.1, p.260; al-Khafājī, *Sharḥu 'sh-Shifā*, vol.2, p.292; al-Qārī, *Sharḥu 'sh-Shifā*, vol.1, p.422; *ar-Rawḍu 'l-unuf*, vol.3, p.445; *Sharḥu 'l-mawāhibi 'l-laddunniyyah*, vol.6, p.120.

[187] *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol.3, p.5; *al-Mirqāt*, vol.5, p.308; *as-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol.1, p.410; refer in particular to al-Qāḍī 'Ayyāḍ, *ash-Shifā*, vol.1, pp.257-60; al-Khafājī, *Sharḥu 'sh-Shifā*, vol.2, pp.285-92; al-Qārī, *Sharḥu 'sh-Shifā*, vol.1, pp.416-23.

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of authority from 'Abdullãh ibn Abī Salamah, who said:

> 'Abdullãh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭãb queried 'Abdullãh ibn 'Abbãs, asking him: 'Did Muḥammad, may Allãh bless him [and his family] and grant him [them] salvation, see his Lord?' Ibn 'Abbãs replied to him: 'Yes.' 'Abdullãh ibn 'Umar retorted: 'Then how did he see Him?' And he answered: 'Truly, he saw Him.' – Yūnus [one of the narrators from Ibn Ishaq] elaborated in his narration: ' . . . in the form of an adolescent, in a green meadow, beneath Him a carpet of gold, on a golden chair, held by four angels: one in the form of a man, one in the form of a bull, one in the form of an eagle, and one in the form of a lion.'[188]

26
THE OPINIONS OF HISHÃM AL-JAWÃLĪQĪ TAKEN FROM NON-IMÃMĪ *ḤADĪTH*

3. As for what has been said in which mention is made of limbs and extremities (which are either figurative, like that which is narrated in the Holy Qur'ãn and many *ḥadīth* of the *sunnah*, which are given a literal sensory meaning either through inattention or inadvertance, or that which is ostensively literal and only permits interpretation with difficulty, of which there are also many in the *sunnah*) there are many examples, some of which have been previously indicated in the examples we cited from the doctrines of non-Imãmī Traditionists. In what has been reported which we have not cited is the statement of the

[188] *al-Asmã' wa 'ṣ-ṣifãt*, p.443; *at-Tawḥīd wa ithbãt ṣifãti 'r-rabb*, p.198; *ash-Sharī'ah*, pp.494-5; *ash-Shifã*, vol.1, p.258; al-Khafãjī, *Sharḥu 'sh-Shifã*, vol.2, p.287; al-Qãrī, *Sharḥu sh-Shifã*, vol.1, p.418; *ad-Durru 'l-manthūr*, vol.6, p.124; etc.

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Prophet, may Allãh bless him and his family and grant them salvation, about what they would see of Him:

> [On the Day of Judgement] our Lord shall reveal His leg, and all male and female believers shall fall prostrate before it.[189]

And that which has been related in numerous *ḥadīth* with various wordings:

> It is said *unto Hell: 'Are you full?' And it replies. 'Are there any more?'* [Qãf, 50:30], and it is not full until the Lord/Lord of the Worlds/the Merciful puts His foot into it and compresses some of it against the rest (*yuzwī ba'ḍa-hã ilã ba'ḍ*, and there is a variant reading: *yuzwã ba'da-hã ilã ba'ḍ*) and it says: 'Enough (*qaṭi, qaṭi, qaṭi/qadi, qadi, qadi/qadī, qadī, qadī/qadnī, qadnī, qadnī*)! Your Power!'[190]

4. The *ḥadīth* of Abū Hurayrah:

> Allãh created Adam in His image, His height being sixty cubits.[191]

The *ḥadīth* of 'Abdullãh ibn 'Umar:

> Do not distort the meaning, for truly the son of Adam was created in the image of the Merciful.[192]

And the *ḥadīth* concerning the Day of Judgement (*al-qiyãmah*):

> Allãh will come to them [the believers on the Day of Judgement] in His form, which they know [after He has

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[189] al-Bukhãrī, vol.6, p.198; vol.9, p.159; ad-Dãrimī, *as-Sunan*, vol.2, pp.326-7.

[190] al-Bukhãrī, vol.6, p.173; vol.8, p.168; vol.9, pp.143, 164; Muslim, vol.8, pp.151-2; at-Tirmidhī, vol.4, pp.691-2; vol.5, p.390; Aḥmad, vol.2, pp.276, 314, 369, 507; vol.3, pp.13, 78, 134, 141, 234; ad-Dãrimī, vol.2, pp.340-1; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *at-Tafsīr*, Būlãq ed., vol.26, pp.105-7; etc.

[191] al-Bukhãrī, vol.8, p.62; Muslim, vol.8, p.149; Aḥmad, vol.2, pp.315, 323; *at-Tawḥīd wa ithbãt ṣifãti 'r-rabb*, pp.39-41; *ash-Sharī'ah*, p.314.

[192] *at-Tawḥīd*, p.38; *ash-Sharī'ah*, p.315; see the defence of the soundness of this *ḥadīth* by Ibn Rãhwayh, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, and adh-Dhahabī, *Mīzãnu 'l-i'tidãl*, vol.2, pp.419-20.

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> come to them in a form which they did not recognize, and they rejected Him], and He will say: 'I am your Lord!' And they will say: 'You are our Lord.'[193]

5. Regarding place, the most curious thing said about it is what was said about 'the Throne (*al-'Arsh*)' and 'the Chair (*al-Kursī*)' in His words: *His chair encompasses the heavens and the earth* [al-Baqarah, 2:255] in the statement of Ibn 'Abbãs:

> The chair/His chair is the place of His foot/two feet, and the throne – only Allãh decrees its destiny.[194]

There is a *ḥadīth* with the same meaning related by 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭãb, Abū Mūsã al-Ash'arī, Abū Dharr, and Ibn Mas'ūd.[195]

Concerning the sitting of Allãh above the throne:

> Truly Allãh is above His throne; and truly it gives the sound of a newly loaded saddle, as the one who rides it weighs it down.[196]
>
> And He sits upon it, and only a distance of four fingers breadth remains.[197]
>
> Allãh has prepared and set aside this excess space of four

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[193] al-Bukhãrī, vol.9, p.156; Muslim, vol.1, p.113.

[194] *al-Mustadrak 'ala 'ṣ-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol.2, p.282; al-Ḥãkim and adh-Dhahabī authenticated it, *at-Tawḥīd wa ithbãt ṣifãti 'r-rabb*, pp.107, 108; *Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.9, pp.251-2; *al-Asmã' wa 'ṣ-ṣifãt*, p.354; Ibn Kathīr, *at-Tafsīr*, vol.1, p.457; *ad-Durru 'l-manthūr*, vol.1, p.327; *Fatḥu 'l-qadīr*, vol.l, p.273; *Rūḥu 'l-ma'ãnī,* vol.3, p.10, vol.16, p.154.

[195] aṭ-Ṭabarī, *at-Tafsīr*, Būlãq ed., vol.3, p.7; *al-Asmã' wa 'ṣ-ṣifãt*, pp.353-4; ad-Dãrimī, *as-Sunan*, vol.2, p.325; *al-Mustadrak 'ala 'ṣ-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol.2, pp.364-5; *ad-Durru 'l-manthūr*, vol.3, p.298; *Ṭabaqãtu 'l-Ḥanãbilah*, vol.1, p.134. Many of the ancient commentators also explain it in this way; see aṭ-Ṭabarī, *at-Tafsīr*, vol.3, p.7.

[196] Abū Dãwūd, *as-Sunan*, vol.4, p.232; *at-Tawḥīd wa ithbãt ṣifãti 'r-rabb*, pp.103-4; *ash-Sharī'ah*, p.293; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *at-Tafsīr*, vol.3, p.8; *al-Asmã' wa 'ṣ-ṣifãt*, pp.417-9.

[197] ad-Dãrimī, refutation of Bishr al-Marīsī, '*Aqãidu 's-salaf*, p.432; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *at-Tafsīr*, vol.3, p.8; *'Awnu 'l-ma'būd*, vol.13, pp.32-33.

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> fingers breadth for Muḥammad, may Allãh bless him and his family and grant them salvation, in order that he may sit upon it on the Day of Judgement;[198] that is the explanation of His statement: *It may be that your Lord will raise you to a praised position* [al-Isrã', 17:79].[199]

aṭ-Ṭabarī gave a blistering defense of the soundness of this explanation and of the sitting of Allãh,[200] and al-Qurṭubī said: "aṭ-Ṭabarī stood up for its admissibility with a plethora of words."[201]

Abū Bakr an-Naqqãsh narrated from Abū Dãwūd as-Sijistãnī, Sulaymãn ibn al-Ash'ath (202/817–275/889), the famous author of the *Sunan*, that he said: "Whoever denies this *ḥadīth* [the *ḥadīth* about the sitting of Allãh] stands accused [of apostasy and being outside the religion] by us; knowledgeable people shall continue to believe in it."[202]

Ibnu 'l-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, the well-known student of Ibn Taymiyyah, related from the Qãḍī Abū Ya'lã al-Ḥanbalī that he stated:

> al-Marwazī composed a book on the virtue of the Prophet, may Allãh bless him [and his family] and grant him [them] salvation, in which he mentions his being seated on the throne.

The Qãḍī mentions that it is a belief [of a group of twenty-seven, whose names he cites], and Ibnu 'l-Qayyim adds:

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[198] *Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.8, p.52; *Ṭabaqãtu 'l-Ḥanãbilah*, vol.2, p.67.

[199] ad-Dãrimī, vol.2, p.233; *ash-Shifã*, vol.1, p.291; Ibnu 'l-Jawzī, *Zãdu 'l-masīr*, vol.5, p.76; *ad-Durru 'l-manthūr*, vol.l, p.328; vo1.4, p.198; *Sharḥu 'l-Mawãhibi 'l-laddunniyyah*, vol.8, pp.367-8.

[200] *at-Tafsīr*, Būlãq ed., vol.15, pp.99-100.

[201] *Aḥkãmu 'l-Qur'ãn*, vol.10, p.311.

[202] al-Qurṭubī, *Aḥkãmu 'l-Qur'ãn*, vol.10, p.311; Abū Ḥayyãn, *al-Baḥru 'l-muḥīṭ*, vol.6, p.72; al-Qasṭalãnī, *al-Mawãhibu 'l-laddunniyyah*, vol.2, p.411; az-Zurqãnī, *Sharḥu 'l-Mawãhib*, vol.8, p.368; ash-Shawkãnī, *Fatḥu 'l-qadīr*, vol.3, p.252; al-Ãlūsī, *Ruḥu 'l-ma'ãnī*, vol.15, p.142.

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> It is a belief of Ibn Jarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī, and of al-Mujãhid [ibn Jabr] the *imãm* of all of them in *tafsīr*; and it is a belief of Abu 'l-Ḥasan ad-Dãr Quṭnī [too] . . .[203]

al-Marwazī is Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥajjãj, Abū Bakr al-Marwazī (al-Marwarūdhī) al-Baghdãdī (*c* 200/816275/888), one of the greatest followers of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, and the foremost among them for his piety and merit. Aḥmad was on intimate terms with him, and was at ease in his company; it was he who took charge of Aḥmad's body after he died and washed it. He narrated many matters on his authority, and substantiated authentic *ḥadīth* on his authority, as is stated in his biography.[204]

Because of this belief, and al-Marwazī's book about it, a bloody public disturbance took place in Baghdad, as Ibnu 'l-Athīr and others mention concerning the events of the year 317/929:

> A great public altercation took place in Baghdad during this year between the followers of Abū Bakr al-Marwazī al-Ḥanbalī and others from among the general populace, and many soldiers became involved in it. The cause of it was that the followers of al-Marwazī said, in a commentary on His words: *It may be that your Lord will raise you to a praised position,* that Allãh will seat the Prophet, may Allãh bless him [and his family] and grant him [them] salvation, with Him on the throne, while the other side said: 'On the contrary, it is mediation (*shafã'ah*).'[205] A public

[203] Ibnu 'l-Qayyim, *Badãi'u 'l-fawãid*, vol.4, pp.39-40.

[204] *Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.4, pp.424-5; *al-Muntaẓam*, vol.5, pt.2, pp.94-95; *Ṭabaqãtu 'l-Ḥanãbilah*, vol.1, pp.56-63; *al-Minhaju 'l-Aḥmad*, vol.1, pp. 172-4; *al-'Ibar*, vol.2, p.54; Ibn Kathīr, vol.11, p.54; *Shadharãtu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.2, p.166; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.7, p.435.

[205] This is the explanation, which is agreed upon between the Shī'ah and many Sunnī scholars.

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altercation ensued, and the parties did battle with each other, and there were many casualties among them.[206]

6. I have found no reasonable explanation for what has been attributed to al-Jawãlīqī regarding his statement: 'Truly He is hollow at the centre, and the rest is *ṣamad*', except that he glossed *ṣamad* as 'solid', an interpretation that will be discussed subsequently, and that he found something which proved that Allãh's having limbs and extremities was contradictory with His being solid from head to foot. He went on to establish that He, praise be to Him, had every limb except pudendum and beard', and was compelled to divide Him into two parts: the higher one being hollow, and the lower one eternally solid, with no pudendum.

27
WHAT IS RELATED FROM THE TWO HISHĀMS IS ALSO RELATED FROM NON-IMĀMĪS

It is appropriate to mention that what is attributed to Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam and Hishãm al-Jawãlīqī, is attributed to others who pre-dated both of them or were their contemporaries.

1. Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muqãtil ibn Sulaymãn al-Azdī, al-Balkhī, al-Marwazī (*c* 70/689–150/767), who both heard and reported a great deal, and was particularly dedicated to commentary. He travelled throughout the Islamic lands (Marw, then Iraq, the Ḥijãz, Damascus) reporting and commenting on *ḥadīth* in Mecca, Baghdad and Beirut, and finally settled in Baṣrah, where he died. He became so famous for his commentary on the Holy Qur'ãn that ash-Shãfi'ī said of him: "People are entirely dependent on Muqãtil for commentary." He was one of those

[206] Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.8, p.213; Ibn Kathīr, vol.11, p.162; Abu 'l-Fidã', vol.2, pp.74-75; Ibnu 'l-Wardī, vol.1, p.390; *Tãrīkhu 'l-khulafã'*, p.384.

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who was given as an example of those who believed in pure corporealism and anthropomorphism, and of falseness in *ḥadīth*. He was an adversary of his compatriot, Jahm ibn Ṣafwān, religiously and politically. Ibn Ḥibbān stated:

> He took from Jews and Christians knowledge of the Qur'ān, which corresponded with their Books, and he was an anthropomorphist, comparing the Lord with created beings.[207]

He and his followers stated:

> Allāh is a body, and has *jummah*[208] and is in human form, flesh and blood, hair and bone, having extremities and limbs, hands, legs, a head, eyes, and is solid; yet despite all this He does not resemble anything else, and nothing else resembles Him.[209]

al-Maqdīsī and Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī added: "He is seven spans of His own span."[210] By 'followers of al-Muqātil' is meant all those followers of *ḥadīth* who were influenced by him and who held beliefs similar to his. Among these were:

a) His confederate (*rabīb*) Nūḥ ibn Abī Maryam (Yazīd), Abū 'Iṣmah al-Marwazī, al-Ḥanafī, the *qāḍī* of Marw (*c* 100/719–173/789), who heard and narrated a great amount, and studied jurisprudence with Abū Ḥanīfah; at-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mājah excerpted his *ḥadīth* concerning *tafsīr*. Muqātil married his mother and reared him, and Abū 'Iṣmah learned his ideas from him; they say about him what they say about his *shaykh* Muqātil.[211]

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[207] Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitābu 'l-Majrūḥīn (aḍ-Ḍu'afā')*, vol.3, pp.14-16; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.13, pp.160-9; *Mīzānu 'l-i'tidāl*, vol.4, pp.172-5; *Tahdhību 't-tahdhīb*, vol.10, pp.279-85; and many sources.

[208] = *wafrah*, see above note no.174 (*al-Mu'jamu 'l-wasīṭ*, vol.1, p.137).

[209] *Maqālātu 'l-Islāmiyyīn*, vol.l, pp.213, 214, 258-9; *al-Fiṣal*, vol.4, p.205; *al-Bad' wa 't-tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 141; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, vol.3, p.224.

[210] *al-Bad' wa 't-tārfkh*, vol.1, p.85; vol.5, p.141; *al-Ḥūru 'l-'iyn*, p.149.

[211] Ibn Ḥibbān, *aḍ-Ḍu'afā'*, vol.3, pp.48-49; *Mīzānu 'l-i'tidāl*, vol.4, pp.279-80; *Tahdhību 't-tahdhīb*, vol.10, pp.486-9; etc.

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b) Abū 'Abdillāh, Nu'aym ibn Ḥammād ibn Mu'āwiyah al-A'war al-Khuzā'ī, al-Marwazī, then al-Miṣrī (*c* 148/765–228/843), a distinguished Traditionist, was an *imām* of the *sunnah*. al-Bukhārī, Abū Dāwūd, at-Tirmidhī, and Ibn Mājah excerpted his *ḥadīth*; Muslim did the same in the preface to his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. He was brought from Egypt to Iraq during the caliphate of the 'Abbāsid al-Mu'taṣim due to his denial of the doctrine of the createdness of the Qur'ān. He was imprisoned there until he died, and was buried in his chains, unshrouded, and without prayers being said for him.

He was a scribe for Abū 'Iṣmah, who raised and educated him, and he composed many books refuting the Jahmiyyah. They said about him what they said about his *shaykh*, although the only ones who explicitly denied him were ad-Dūlābī and al-Azdī because they considered him one of the martyrs of their Miḥnah, or Inquisition.[212]

2. Abū Muthannah, Mu'ādh ibn Mu'ādh al-'Anbarī, al-Baṣrī, *qāḍī* of Baṣrah (119/737–196/812), one of the distinguished Traditionists whose reliability and explication of *ḥadīth* they trusted, among them the followers of the *sunnah* books and others.[213]

One narrator said:

> I questioned Mu'ādh al-'Anbarī, saying: 'Does He have a face?' And he replied: 'Yes.' So I brought up all the limbs, nose, mouth, chest, belly, but left off mentioning the genitals, gesturing towards my own with my hands, and

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[212] *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.13, pp.306-14; *Mīzānu 'l-i'tidāl*, vol.4, pp.267-70; *Tahdhību 't-tahdhīb*, vol.10, pp.458-63; etc. Refer to the text stating that they followed Muqātil in anthropomorphism and corporealism, they and Dāwūd al-Jawāribī (to follow): *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, p.187; *Talbīs iblis*, p.86; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, vol.3, p.224. See also Watt, W. M., *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought,* p. 178.

[213] *Tahdhību 't-tahdhīb*, vol.10, pp.194-5; *Taqrību 't-tahdhīb*, vol.2, p.275; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.13, pp.131-4.

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questioning. He said: 'Yes.' So I asked: 'Male or female?' And he replied: 'Male!'[214]

One feast day, a man paid a call on Mu'ãdh ibn Mu'ãdh, the *qãḍī* of Baṣrah. He was holding some meat cooked in vinegar in his hands and the visitor asked him all there was to ask about the Creator. He said: 'He, by Allãh, is like that which is between my hands, flesh and blood!'[215]

3. Dãwūd al-Jawãribī. Nothing is mentioned about him, not even the name of his father, except for what is related on the authority of Yazīd ibn Hārūn al-Wãṣiṭī (118/736–206/821), one of the distinguished Traditionists, there is consensus about, that he said: "al-Jawãribī and al-Marrīsī [Bishr ibn Ghiyãth] are unbelievers." He said that Dãwūd al-Jawãribī was crossing Wãsiṭ bridge and the bridge broke, and all who were on it drowned [except Dãwūd, who survived]. Yazīd used to say: "He who expelled a devil, and he said: 'I am Dãwūd al-Jawãribī.'"'[216] From this it is apparent that he was an 'Irãqī, and that he and Bishr were contemporaries.

al-Ash'arī counts Dãwūd and his followers among the Murjiah, and ash-Shahristãnī counts him and Nu'aym ibn Ḥammãd among the anthropomorphists of the Ḥashwiyyah followers of *ḥadīth* who were in agreement with Muqãtil ibn Sulaymãn. 'Abdu 'l-Qãhir al-Baghdãdī, Abū 'l-Muẓaffar al-Isfarãyīnī and others concluded the same, counting him among 'the anthropomorphists,' and not 'the Rãfiḍah' or 'the Rãfiḍī anthropomorphists.'

It is related from him that he said that what he worshipped is a body, flesh and blood, having extremities and limbs, with hands, feet, a head, a tongue, eyes, and ears; despite that, it is a body unlike bodies, a flesh unlike other flesh, blood unlike

[214] Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, vol.3, pp.224-5.
[215] Ibnu 'l-Murtaḍã, *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.116; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, vol.3, p.225.
[216] *Mīzãnu 'l-i'tidãl*, vol.2, p.23; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, p.427.

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blood, and so on for the rest of the attributes, that He does not resemble any created thing, and nothing resembles Him; that He is hollow from His highest point to His chest, and solid elsewhere, and He has an abundance of short, black hair. Dãwūd al-Jawãribī said: "I was excused from [mentioning] the private parts and the beard, and I was questioned about what the evidence for this was. What substantiates it is in the Traditions."[217] But Ibn Ḥazm numbered him among the Shī'ah[218] and said:

> Dãwūd al-Jawãribī[219] was one of their greatest theologians, who claimed that his Lord is flesh and blood, in the manner of human beings.[220]

as-Sam'ãnī said:

> From [Hishãm al-Jawãlīqī] Dãwūd al-Jawãribī took his statement that his God has all the limbs, except private parts and beard.[221]

adh-Dhahabī said, and Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalãnī confirms it as being his word:

> Dãwūd al-Jawãribī, head of the ar-Rãfiḍah and corporealism, one to be flung into Hell.[222]

The Imãmī sources do not mention a thing about him, and moreover, his name does not appear in any one of them, old or new.

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[217] *Maqãlãtu 'l-Islãmiyyīn*, vol.1, pp.214, 258-9; *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, pp.105, 187; *al-Bad' wa 't-tãrīkh*, vol.5, p.140; *al-Farq bayna 'l-firaq*, pp.216, 320; *Uṣūlu 'd-dīn*, pp.74, 337; *at-Tabṣīr fi 'd-dīn*, p.107; *Talbīs iblīs*, pp.86, 87).

[218] *al-Fiṣal*, vol.2, p.112; vol.4, p.93.

[219] In the manuscript: al-Jawãzī, and in *al-Lisãn*: al-Jawãrī.

[220] *al-Fiṣal*, vol.4, p.182; *Siyar a'lãmi 'n-nubalã'*, vol.10, p.544; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, p.427.

[221] *al-Ansãb*, f. 590b; *al-Lubãb*, vol.3, p.389.

[222] *Mīzãnu 'l-i'tidãl*, vol.2, p.23; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, p.427.

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28
HISHÃM IBN AL-ḤAKAM AND HIS 'REFUTATION OF HISHÃM AL-JAWÃLĪQĪ' AND THE 'REFUTATION OF MU'MINU 'Ṭ-ṬÃQ' THAT IS ATTRIBUTED TO HIM

Opposition to al-Jawãlīqī for what he stated was not confined to the Imãms, peace be upon them. Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam and his followers opposed al-Jawãlīqī, as is stated in what ‘Alī ibn Ibrãhīm, with a sound chain of transmission, narrated from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Naṣr al-Bazanṭī – the *ḥadīth* has been cited previously – and by Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam.[223]

The biographers of Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam mention in a list of his books a *Kitãbu 'r-radd ‘alã Shayṭãni 'ṭ-Ṭãq*.[224] The book itself has not come down to us so that we might know whom Hishãm intended by 'Shayṭãnu 'ṭ-Ṭãq,' and those who mention the book as his do not elaborate on it. Perhaps the explanation that suggests itself at first glance is that the person intended is Mu'minu 'ṭ-Ṭãq, Abū Ja‘far al-Bajalī, previously mentioned alongside Hishãm al-Jawãlīqī and al-Maythamī; but I have serious doubts about this explanation. Rather, I am almost certain of its incorrectness, and that it is a mistaken explanation.

The scholars of the Imãmiyyah agreed that the naming by Abū Ja‘far of al-Aḥwal al-Bajalī as 'Shayṭãnu 'ṭ-Ṭãq' came in the first place from the adversaries of the Imãmiyyah, and that the Imãmiyyah called him 'Mu'minu 'ṭ-Ṭãq'[225]. Others apart

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[223] *Kitãbu 'r-radd ‘alã Hishãm al-Jawãlīqī*. aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.204; an-Najãshī, p.304; Ibnu 'n-Nadīm, p.224; *Ma‘ãlimu 'l-‘ulamã'*, p.115; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, pp.232, 233; *Īḍãḥu 'l-maknūn*, vol.2, p.298; *Hadiyyatu 'l-‘ãrifīn*, vol.2, p.508; *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.10, p.237.

[224] aṭ-Ṭūsī, p.204; an-Najãshī, p. 305; Ibnu 'n-Nadīm, p.224; *Ma‘ãlimu 'l-‘ulamã'*, p.115; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, pp.233, 234; *Hadiyyatu 'l-‘ãrifīn*, vol.2, p.507; *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.10, p.203.

[225] al-Kishshī, p.185; al-Barqī, *ar-Rijãl*, p.17; al-Mufīd, *al-lkhtiṣãṣ*, p.204; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.157; *ar-Rijãl*, p.359; an-Najãshī, p.228; Ibn Shahrãshūb, *Ma‘ãlimu 'l-‘ulamã'*, p.115.

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from the Imãmiyyah knew of this name of his, and related it on their authority.[226] They cite other nicknames: 'Shãh Ṭãq/Shãhu 'ṭ-Ṭãq' and 'Malaku 'ṭ-Ṭãq'.[227] Ibnu 'n-Nadīm said: "His followers called him Shãqu 'ṭ-Ṭãq as well."[228] Moreover, Ibn Ḥajar relates on the authority of Ibn Abī Ṭayyi', the famous Imãmī scholar, one of the beliefs concerning his being named 'Mu'minu 'ṭ-Ṭãq', something only he quotes from him:

> It is said that Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam, a *shaykh* of the Rãfiḍah, on hearing that they [the adversaries of the Imãmiyyah] had nicknamed him Shayṭãnu 'ṭ-Ṭãq, named him 'Mu'minu 'ṭ-Ṭãq'.[229]

This nickname, 'Mu'minu 'ṭ-Ṭãq', was not maintained for him after his time, but his contemporaries called him by it, and it is stated on the authority of Hishãm ibn Sãlim al-Jawãlīqī himself,[230] as also from Yūnus ibn Ya‘qūb[231] Abãn ibn ‘Uthmãn al-Aḥmar[232] Abū Mãlik al-Aḥmasī,[233] and Sharīk ibn ‘Abdillãh an-Nakha‘ī.[234]

It is really very unlikely that someone like Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam should give him this derisory nickname which the adversaries of the Imãmiyyah invented for him, and that the followers of the Imãmiyyah should counter them with another

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[226] Ibnu 'n-Nadīm, p.224; adh-Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lãmi 'n-nubalã'*, vol.10, pp.553-4; aṣ-Ṣafadī, *al-Wãfī bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.4, p.104; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.5, p.300; ash-Shahristãnī, *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, p.186.

[227] aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.222; *ar-Rijãl*, p.302; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, p.7.

[228] See *al-Fihrist*, Tajaddud ed., appendix, p.224, al-Istiqãmah ed., p.258.

[229] *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.5, pp.300-1.

[230] al-Kishshī, p.282; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.47, p.262. And in another *ḥadīth*, al-Kishshī, pp.275-7; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.47, pp.407-8.

[231] al-Kishshī, p.271.

[232] *al-Iḥtijãj*, vol.2, p.140; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.46, p.180.

[233] al-Kishshī, pp.186-8 – in three *ḥadīth*; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.47, pp.405-6.

[234] *al-Iḥtijãj*, vol.2, pp.144-8; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.47, pp.396-400.

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nickname which was appropriate for a man of his prestige and rank. Rather, Hishām himself would have been the one who began the opposition to them and chose 'Mu'minu 'ṭ-Ṭāq' for him, as previously mentioned in one of the beliefs regarding the reason for his being given this nickname. In addition to this, I have not found anything in the Imāmī *ḥadīth* which demonstrates the presence of adversity between Hishām and Mu'minu 'ṭ-Ṭāq, nor any sort of clearly distinguishable divergence between them similar to the evidence which demonstrates a divergence between Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam and Hishām al-Jawālīqī. This sort of nicknaming has no justification, even when adversity and enmity is intensified, except in the case of insult and calumny. Indeed, I have previously mentioned, in a discussion about al-Jawālīqī, that Mu'minu 'ṭ-Ṭāq and al-Maythamī followed al-Jawālīqī in his ideas; a refutation of him is a refutation of both of them, and that is what Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam did.

Further to all this, there are the numerous indications in what I have mentioned in the biography of Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam of his good character, that he befriended an Ibāḍī Khārijite in a way which lasted for years, which set an example of good companionship, and which was bestowed upon all opponents – as al-Jāḥiẓ states. This name-calling, arising from a level of character appropriate to someone who was not at Hishām's level, is quite inconceivable for him.

On the basis of all this, and for other reasons, I am convinced that Hishām, in this book of his, is refuting a person other than Mu'minu 'ṭ-Ṭāq to whom this nickname 'Shayṭānu 'ṭ-Ṭāq' was given before Mu'minu 'ṭ-Ṭāq. This man's adversity towards the Imāmiyyah reached a point where Hishām did not find it objectionable to nickname him with this sort of disgraceful nickname. However, the adversaries of the Imāmiyyah took the nickname out of context, and directed it at Mu'minu 'ṭ-Ṭāq,

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because he lived in Ṭāq, in the region of Kūfah. He was called 'aṭ-Ṭāqī' or 'Ṣāḥibu 'ṭ-Ṭāq'.[235] The original holder of the nickname has been neglected to the point where we have forgotten him and this sort of obscurity came to pass.

Another piece of evidence which shows that this nickname was not only applied to Mu'minu 'ṭ-Ṭāq is that al-Khaṭīb gives the biography of a non-Imāmī narrator, and says: "Aḥmad ibn Hārūn, known as Shayṭānu 'ṭ-Ṭāq, from the people of Surra-man-ra'ā."[236]

29
THE IMĀMĪS' POSITION ON NON-IMĀMĪ *ḤADĪTH*

From this urgently needed study of ours it appears that those of the Imāmiyyah who were accused of corporealism and anthropomorphism, whether correctly or not, were accused on the basis of their belief in *ḥadīth* which had leaked over to them from the non-Imāmī sects, and we have given examples bearing witness to this. These *ḥadīth*s themselves were what led others to corporealism and anthropomorphism, knowingly or unknowingly; in this their views concurred, or at least those of their views which are narrated, although it is not proved that they, or some of them, believed in them.

As a single example of the effect of these *ḥadīth*s on the environment of the Imāmiyyah, in addition to the examples already given, there is what aṣ-Ṣadūq narrates with a chain of authority originating with Ya'qūb as-Sarrāj, who stated:

> I said to Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him: 'Some of our followers claim that Allāh has a form like human form, and they also say that He is, in this form, beardless, with short,

[235] Refer to the sources already cited concerning his nickname.
[236] = Present-day Sāmarrā' in 'Irāq: *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.5, p.196.

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> curly hair [refer to what has been stated previous-ly].' Abū 'Abdillãh, peace be upon him, fell to the ground, prostrated, and then he raised his head and said: 'Praise be to Allãh Who does not resemble anything, Who is not percieved by vision, and not bound by knowledge. *He did not beget*, because a son would resemble his father; *He was not begotten*, for whoever was before Him would resemble Him.'[237]

There is another factor, and it suffices that we mention just one piece of evidence for it without comment or explanation. This is what came from Ibn Abī 'Umayr Muḥammad ibn Ziyãd al-Azdī al-Baghdãdī (d. 217/832), the famous Imãmī Traditionist and scholar, concerning what al-Kishshī narrated from al-Faḍl ibn Shãdhãn:

> He questioned Abū Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Umayr, saying to him: 'You have met the non-Imãmī *shaykh*s, but how is it that you have not heeded them?' He said: 'I listened to them; however I saw that many of our followers had heard knowledge from the *'ãmmah* (non-Imãmīs) and from the *khãṣṣah* (the elite-Imãmīs), and that they had been confused to the point where they narrated a non-Imãmī *ḥadīth* from Imãmī sources and vice versa. I dreaded the thought of becoming confused, so I abandonned this and focussed on that' [i.e., 'I stopped narrating non-Imãmī *ḥadīth* and confined myself to Imãmī *ḥadīth*'].[238]

These two factors, in addition to others, explain the confidence which emanated from the Imãms, peace be upon them, and which their partisans had in taking their beliefs and rulings from them, as well as the reliance upon the truthful and trustworthy people who narrated on their authority. May Allãh

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[237] *at-Tawḥīd*, pp.103-4; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.3, p.304.

[238] al-Kishshī, pp.590-1; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, p.118; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.14, p.299.

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forgive our brothers for explaining it as a rupture between Muslim brethren, and transforming it into an indictment, to be added to the other indictments against us!

It is clear from this study of ours that the adversaries of the Imãmiyyah, no matter how their views differed or their beliefs varied, did not cease to behave towards the Imãmiyyah as they did, or as it was claimed they did, concerning what was between them. I have presented many examples of this, and have refrained from commenting on them. However, here I will relate the opinion of a non-Imãmī writer concerning one of the most famous books on treatises and sects, to which Muslims of all periods have accorded a high status among all books on the subject. The book is *al-Farq bayna 'l-firaq wa bayãnu 'l-firqati 'n-nãjiyyah minhã* by Abū Manṣūr, ‘Abdu 'l-Qãhir ibn Ṭãhir al-Baghdãdī, al-Ash‘arī, ash-Shãfi‘ī (d. 429/1038), and in the same vain, his other book *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, both in print; and another book of no less importance, if not as successful, being *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal* by Abu 'l-Fatḥ, Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdi 'l-Karīm ash-Shahristãnī (479/1086–548/1153). Fakhru 'd-Dīn ar-Rãzī, the famous theologian and commentator, says of the book *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal* by ash-Shahristãnī:

> It is a book which, it claims, relates the doctrines of the world, but it is not relied upon because it draws Islamic beliefs from the book called *al-Farq bayna 'l-firaq* by Abū Manṣūr al-Baghdãdī, and this teacher was severely bigoted against those who differed in belief and scarcely presented their beliefs in a truthful fashion. ash-Shahris-tãnī, then, drew the beliefs of the Muslim sects from this book, and for this reason slandered their honour in the process.[239]

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[239] *Munãẓarãt Fakhru 'd-Dīn ar-Rãzī fī bilãd mã warãi 'n-nahr*, ed. Dr. Fatḥullãh Khalīf, Dãru 'l-Mashriq, Beirut, 1966, with English transl., p.39-99; and see the translation, p.62-99.

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Before concluding the investigation, I must say a word concerning the role of the Mu‘tazilah in this area. The Mu‘tazilah were confronted from the beginning by two sorts of adversaries: one group were followers of *ḥadīth* and the *sunnah*, or those who were called al-Ḥashwiyyah and an-Nãbitah by the Mu‘tazilah, and the second group were the theologians who differed with them in their views. The Traditionists did not confront the Mu‘tazilah with the weapons of theology and debate and join the battle of argument with argument, but rather confronted them with accusations of heresy and unbelief, and the charge of atheism and going beyond the legitimate bounds of the religion. With the influence they had on the general public, their adversity was transformed into a mere 'physical struggle', in which the Mu‘tazilah were compelled to grasp the weapon of authority since they had failed to grasp the weapon of the backing of the general public. The most important manifestations were the tragedies in which the history of the time of the ‘Abbãsids al-Ma’mūn, al-Mu‘taṣim, al-Wãthiq, and al-Mutawakkil (198/813–247/861) abound. The Mu‘tazilah were victorious in the first period of the third caliphate, as they had the authority and the weapons of the sultan on their side. This is a tragedy, which the historians hold to have been a struggle over the issue of the createdness of the Qur’ãn. However the Mu‘tazilah lost their position after the authorities inclined towards their opponent theologians, and they lost the weapon of authority, just as their predecessors had lost the weapon of the general public.

As for their theological adversaries – the most important of these were the Imãmī theologians – the controversy the Mu‘tazilah had with them took place merely in the intellectual arena, since the disputing parties were, as was pointed out,

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equal in strength, in posession neither of the weapon of the sultan or of the community. Rather, the Mu‘tazilah were, with respect to the Imãmiyyah, closer to the heart of the sultan and his sympathy, and more able to seek the aid of his influence and arms! Here the Mu‘tazilah sought assistance by all reason and means, and pursued every avenue, which facilitated their victory. It was fear of the public in the first instance, and following that, fear of both the public and the sultan, which shackled the hands of the Mu‘tazilah in front of the Traditionists; this did not shackle their hands before the Imãmiyyah, and for this reason we do not find in the books of the Mu‘tazilah concerned with the Traditionists the offensive accusations, the continual biting criticism, and the bare-faced adversity which we find they have with respect to the Imãmiyyah.

I think that what the Mu‘tazilah attributed to the Imãmiyyah, which others adopted from them, they heard in the first instance from the Traditionists. Muqãtil ibn Sulaymãn settled in Baṣrah towards the end of his life, and spread his views there,[240] and so did his contemporary Ḥammãd ibn Salamah al-Baṣrī (88/707–167/784), the *muftī* and *faqīh* of Baṣrah, and a famous Traditionist. He was the one with whom are associated most of the *ḥadīth* concerning the divine attributes which he used to demonstrate corporealism and anthropomorphism, and which it was said that his confederate ‘Abdu 'l-Karīm ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjã’, the well-known atheist, inserted in his own books, and which Ḥammãd narrated and defended as true.[241] Mu‘ãdh al-‘Anbarī, the *qãḍī* and Traditionist of Baṣrah, and Dãwūd al-

[240] As was previously mentioned, according to adh-Dhahabī 'Baṣrah is a nest of predestination': *Mīzãnu 'l-i‘tidãl*, vol.3, p.91.

[241] Ibnu 'l-Jawzī, *al-Mawḍū‘ãt*, vol.1, pp.37, 100, 122; Ibn Fūrak, *Mushkilu 'l-ḥadīth*, p.169; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Asmã’ wa 'ṣ-ṣifãt*, p.445; adh-Dhahabī, *Mīzãnu 'l-i‘tidãl*, vol.l, p.593; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhību 't-tahdhīb*, vol.3, p.15; as-Suyūṭī, *al-La’ãli 'l-maṣnū‘ah*, vol.1, p.25; vol.2, p.468; etc.

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Jawãribī were either from Baṣrah or had connections with it. The Mu'tazilah took everything from them, but they could not at first ridicule them using these narrations, so they used their statements against the Imãmiyyah, attributing them to the Baṣrans in the first instance, and the using it to ridicule them afterwards.

30
COMPARISON OF THE *TAṢḤĪḤU 'L-I'TIQÃD* WITH THE *I'TIQÃDÃTU 'L-IMÃMIYYAH*

The final point I wish to mention is that the comparison of *Taṣḥīḥu 'l-i'tiqãd* by al-Mufīd with *I'tiqãdãtu 'l-Imãmiyyah* by aṣ-Ṣadūq only reveals to us what the Imãmiyyah Traditionist and theological schools shared, and what they differed in, and no more, during the period up to the fifth/eleventh century. However, to conclude this comparison by saying that the difference, which we find on al-Mufid's side, can be traced back to the influence of the Mu'tazilah is an inference, which is refuted by many facts resting on correct deduction based on truthful and comprehensive study.

The Imãmiyyah, from the beginning, contained these two schools of thought. We have stated that while they were different in style and form of demonstration, they were not adversarial opponents, as we have found them to be among the non-Imãmī. I have elsewhere written a continuous history of Imãmī theologians, in which I trace them up to the period of Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī, and I have mentioned the books of theology that are cited as theirs; it will be published, Allãh willing, as a preface to the English translation of "Kitãbu 't-Tawḥīd" of *Uṣūl al-Kãfī*. However, the books which I have cited there have mostly perished, and only a trifling amount has reached us; nevertheless, they have titles, and what these titles suggest dem-

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onstrates that Imãmī theology is a continuous, uninterrupted chain, which thrived and was maintained up to the time of the Shaykh al-Mufīd. Where we do not have actual examples, the least we can do is study their titles and what little remains of their contents. Our study is, therefore, fragmented and incomplete, and it is not correct for us to judge that what we see as a distinctive feature of al-Mufīd is something he picked up from the Mu'tazilah. Rather, there are proofs, which demonstrate that this distinctive feature was something that had been passed down to him from previous Imãmī theologians, in the same way as their doctrine, which he inherited with its special characteristics. I have already presented some of the discussion surrounding the methodological division between Traditionist and theological styles. It is apparent from this that these strong judgements, which have been stated both in the past and at the present, concerning the influence of the Mu'tazilah on the Imãmiyyah, are unfounded. I have made it clear that they were not influenced by the Mu'tazilah in their beliefs; this was my intention in this introduction, and as for the study of other aspects, I leave that task to another time.

However, I would like to put forward here a single example of these biting judgements, being the least weighty of examples, and the least outrageous and arbitrary in its connection with aṣ-Ṣadūq and al-Mufīd. M. McDermott mentions that the *Kitãbu 't-Tawḥīd* by aṣ-Ṣadūq was composed later than his two other books, *al-I'tiqãdãtu 'l-Imãmiyyah* and *al-Hidãyah*, and that aṣ-Ṣadūq was therein closer to the thinking of the Mu'tazilah than he was in the other two, since after aṣ-Ṣadūq had emigrated to Rayy, he lived in the Buyid court there. Perhaps this difference was due to 'the pressure of the vizier aṣ-Ṣãḥib ibn 'Abbãd[242] or the influence of Mu'tazilite arguments may well have changed

[242] Vizier to the Būyids (326/938–385/995).

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his thinking.'[243]

But there is more weighty evidence from an earlier period. al-Kulaynī, the Shaykh Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb ar-Rãzī, then al-Baghdãdī (d. 329/941), was a Traditionist *shaykh* of the Imãmiyyah who lived in Rayy and then moved to Baghdad at the end of his life and died there.[244] al-Kulaynī gave a chapter in the section on *tawḥīd* in *al-Kãfī* the title *Ta'wīlu 'ṣ-ṣamad* (the interpretation of *ṣamad*), and quoted there two *ḥadīth* which explained *ṣamad* as His eternal mastery over everything, great or small,[245] and then went on to state:

> This is the correct interpretation of *aṣ-ṣamad*, not what anthropomorphism holds about it: that the interpretation of *aṣ-ṣamad* is a solid, which has no void within it. That interpretation is nothing more than an attribute of bodies, and Allãh, glory be to His name, is above this; . . . if the interpretation of *aṣ-ṣamad* as an attribute of Allãh were solidity, then it would contradict His words: *there is no thing like Him* (ash-Shūrã, 42:11), because solidity is an attribute of solid bodies which have no voids, like stone, or iron, or other solid objects . . . And as for what is stated in Tradition concerning this matter, the knower (i.e., the infallible Imãm), peace be upon him, is more knowledgeable by what he said.

He then goes on to demonstrate the correctness of this explanation with a linguistic argument;[246] in this way he anticipated the Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭūsī, the student of al-Mufīd, by many centuries. aṭ-Ṭūsī said:

Whoever interprets *aṣ-ṣamad* to mean 'solid' is ignorant of

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[243] *The Theology of ash-Shaikh al-Mufid*, pp.323, 341-9.

[244] For his biography see the forward to the English translation of "Kitãbu 'l-'Aql wa 'l-Jahl" from *al-Kãfī*.

[245] *al-Kãfī*, vol.1, pp.123-4, nos.323/324.

[246] *al-Kãfī*, vol.1, p.124.

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> Allãh, because solidity is the compression of parts, and that, which has no voids; this is anthropomorphism and unbelief in Allãh.[247]

Those Traditions which al-Kulaynī indicates but does not quote and which explain *aṣ-ṣamad* as that which has no voids, aṣ-Ṣadūq cites and does not miss out in his *Kitãbu 't-Tawḥīd*, in which, according to McDermott, he was more influenced by the Mu‘tazilah than in his *Risãlah*, or his *Hidãyah*,[248] and he combines it with the meaning which al-Kulaynī adopted as explaining *aṣ-ṣamad*, and takes on both of them. He interprets *aṣ-ṣamad* in a way, which does not lend itself to corporealism;[249] from this it appears that al-Kulaynī was more of a Mu‘tazilah than aṣ-Ṣadūq!

It may be that the reverential support given to these judgements which have been expounded about the Imãmiyyah both ancient and modern, and which opine that they were dependant on the Mu‘tazilah who provided them with their views and arguments will lead some to claim that another Mu‘tazilī circle existed or came into existence, and that al-Kulaynī lived within it, and that another Mu‘tazilī vizier put pressure upon him. I do not, in any way, deny that an Imãmī scholar can be influenced by a teacher of his who differs from him in belief, or by the atmosphere of adversity around him, but what I do not accept is what McDermott's opinion is inspired by, being that aṣ-Ṣadūq renounced some of his ideas, or covered up aspects of them in deference to his followers or to the Mu‘tazilah, and this continued reverence for these judgements which state that any modification of Imãmī opinion occured as a result of Mu‘tazilī influence upon them. In the view of aṣ-Ṣadūq, aṣ-Ṣāḥib ibn ‘Abbãd was not that Mu‘tazilī whom the Mu‘tazilī sources

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[247] *at-Tibyãn*, vol.10, p.431.
[248] *at-Tawḥīd*, pp.93, 140, 171.
[249] *Ibid.*, p.197.

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suppose him to be. Rather he was a Twelver Imãmī who eulogized the Imãms, particularly ar-Riḍã, peace be upon him, in many *qaṣīda*s, in which he explicitly refers to their Imãmate. aṣ-Ṣadūq wrote his *'Uyūn akhbãri 'r-Riḍã, 'alay-hi 's-salãm* for him, and explicitly mentions him in the beginning of the book. Moreover, he quotes the poems of aṣ-Ṣãḥib therein.[250]

* * * * *

In issues of theology, it is necessary to distinguish between those which touch directly upon belief, and those, which do not, such as those issues, which come under the heading of the *laṭīf* (refinements) of *kalãm*. Our Shaykh al-Mufīd cites many of these kinds of elaborations at the end of his *Awãilu 'l-maqãlãt*.[251] My goal in this introduction is limited to stating that the Imãmiyyah did not take their beliefs from the Mu'tazilah, and that anthropomorphism and corporealism did not reign over them for a single day prior to their contact with the Mu'tazilah. As for being influenced in issues like these, or being influenced in the type of demonstration used in issues connected with them, I do not rule it out; rather, there is much evidence for its occurence, but there was a two-way influence. What is most distressing is the ignorance of the influence Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam had on the two Mu'tazilī scholars, an-Naẓẓãm and Abū Ṭayyib, for example, and the importance given to al-Mufīd's being influenced by the Mu'tazilah.

As for the extent of the Mu'tazill influence on al-Mufīd, in particular, in matters of the *laṭīfu 'l-kalãm* in questions which did not touch directly upon doctrine, and especially al-Mufīd's pursuance of the ideas of al-Ka'bī al-Balkhī, which McDermott uses freely in his book *The Theology of ash-Shaikh al-Mufīd*, I

[250] *'Uyūnu 'l-akhbãr*, vol.1, pp.3-7.
[251] p.72 ff.

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shall not discuss anything he states, since I have discussed the principles which he relies upon and given my opinion of them; as for the details, a discussion of them would form another article.

It should also be pointed out that taking from a non-Imãmī theologian does not necessarily mean that a student follows his teacher's opinions, especially as far as doctrinal differences he has with him are concerned. The non-Imãmī theologians of the earlier time were Mu‘tazilī, and following the period of the Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī, were mostly Ash‘arī; a group of our Imãmī theologians were involved with them. In addition, and in contrast to this, there is the recorded involvement of non-Imãmī with Imãmī theologians, such as the students of Naṣīru 'd-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī, the famous theologian and philosopher. This is only the acquisition of information from a non-Imãmī *shaykh*; how many non-Imãmī *shaykh*s of *ḥadīth* there were from whom al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍã, aṭ-Ṭūsī, and al-Karãjikī learnt, not to mention those who preceeded them, like aṣ-Ṣadūq, and those who succeeded them, like the ‘Allãmah al-Ḥillī. These men weighed the *ḥadīth* they heard with the scales they held to be correct; in their view, it was a necessity for them to reveal the soundness or otherwise of a *ḥadīth*. The result of this is that the lmãmī Traditionist sought the assistance of what he heard from his non-Imãmī *shaykh* in substantiating what he believed about the Imãmate, and the qualifications of the Imãms, peace be upon them, or in the refutation of arguments of adversaries. This is the case as well in the sciences of theology, Qur’ãnic commentary, positive law, and jurisprudence. This sort of involvement was beneficial, in the first instance, in learning the usefulness of what the two sides agreed upon, and secondly, in making use of the teacher's knowledge in defense of what the student believed to be true.

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